





THE
L I F E
AND
ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.





THE



L I F E

AND MOST SURPRISING

ADVENTURES

OF

ROBINSON CRUSOE;

of YORK, MARINER;

Who lived eight and twenty years in an uninhabited island on the coast of America, near the mouth of the great river Oroonoke.

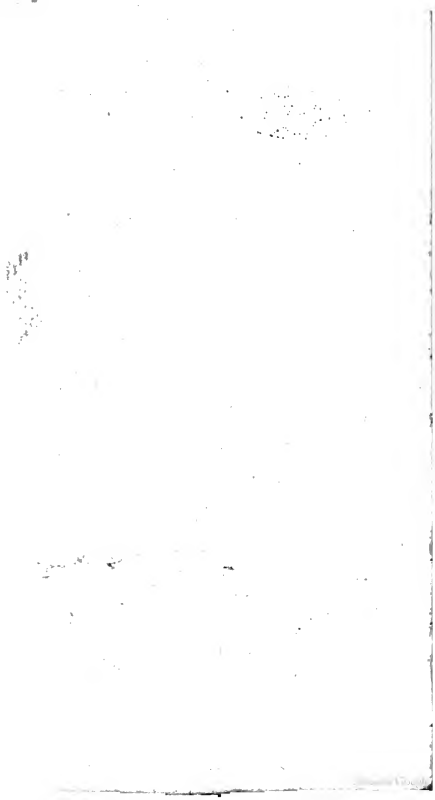
With an account of his deliverance thence, and his after surprising adventures.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

IF ever the story of any private man's adventures in the world were worth making public, and were acceptable when published, the editor of this account thinks this will be so.

The wonders of this man's life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the life of one man being scarce capable of a greater variety.

The story is told with modesty, with seriousness, and with a religious application of events to the uses to which wise men always apply them, *viz.* to the instruction of others by this example, and to justify and honour the wisdom of Providence in all the variety of our circumstances, let them happen how they will.

The editor believes the thing to be a just history of fact; neither is there any appearance of fiction in it: and though he is well aware there are many, who on account of

the very singular preservations the author met with, will give it the name of a romance; yet, in which-ever of these lights it shall be viewed, he imagines, that the improvement of it, as well to the diversion, as to the instruction of the reader, will be the same; and as such, he thinks, without farther compliment to the world, he does them a great service in the publication.



THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
ROBINSON CRUSOE.

I WAS born at York, in the year 1632, of a reputable family. My father was a native of Bremen, who, by merchandizing at Hull for some time, gained a very plentiful fortune. He married my mother at York, who received her first breath in that country: and as her maiden name was Robinson, I was called *Robinson Kreutznaer*; which not being easily pronounced in the English tongue, we are commonly known by the name of Crusoe.

I was the youngest of three brothers. The eldest was a lieutenant-colonel in Lockhart's regiment, but slain by the Spaniards: what became of the other, I could never learn.

No charge nor pains were wanting in my education. My father designed me for the law; yet nothing would serve me but I must go to sea, both against the will of my father, the tears of my mother, and the entreaties of friends. One morning my father expostulated very warmly with me. What reason, says he, have you to leave your native country, where there must be a more certain prospect of con-

-tent and happiness, to enter into a wandering condition of uneasiness and uncertainty? He recommended to me Augur's wish, *Neither to desire poverty nor riches*; that a middle state of life was the most happy; and that the high towering thoughts of raising our condition by wandering abroad, were surrounded with misery and danger, and often ended with confusion and disappointment. I entreat you, nay, I command you, (says he), to desist from these intentions. Consider your eldest brother, who laid down his life for his honour, or rather lost it for his disobedience to my will. If you will go, (added he), my prayers shall however be offered for your preservation; but a time may come, when, desolate, oppressed, or forsaken, you may wish you had taken your poor despised father's counsel. — He pronounced these words with such a moving and paternal eloquence, while floods of tears ran down his aged cheeks, that it seemed to stem the torrent of my resolutions. But this soon wore off, and a little after I informed my mother, that I could not settle to any business, my resolutions were so strong to see the world; and begged she would gain my father's consent only to go one voyage; which, if it did not prove prosperous, I would never attempt a second. But my desire was as vain as my folly in asking. My mother passionately expressed her dislike of this proposal, telling me, *that as she saw I was bent upon my own destruction, contrary to their will and my duty, she would say no more, but leave me to myself to do whatsoever I pleased.*

I was then, I think, nineteen years old, when one time being at Hull, I met a school-fellow of mine, going along with his father, who was master of a ship, to London; and acquainting him with my wandering desires, he assured me of a free passage, and a plentiful share of what was necessary. Thus, without imploring a blessing, or taking farewell of my parents, I took shipping on the first of September 1651. We set sail soon after; and our ship had scarce left the Humber astern, when there arose so violent a storm, that, being extremely sea-sick, I concluded the judgments of God deservedly followed me for my disobedience to my dear parents. It was then I called to mind the good advice of my father; how easy and comfortable was a middle state of life; and I firmly resolved, if it pleased God to set me on dry land once more, I would return to my parents, implore their forgiveness, and bid a final adieu to my wandering inclinations.

Such were my thoughts while the storm continued; but these good resolutions decreased with the danger; more especially when my companion came to me, clapping me on the shoulder: *What, Bob!* said he, *sure you was not frightened last night with scarce a capfull of wind?* — *And do you,* cried I, *call such a violent storm a capfull of wind?* *A storm,* you fool you, said he, *this is nothing: a good ship and sea-room always baffles such a foolish squawl of wind as that: but you're a fresh-water sailor: come boy, turn out, see what fine weather we have now, and a good bowl of punch will drown all your past sorrows.* In short, the

punch was made, I was drunk, and in one night's time drowned both my repentance and my good resolutions, forgetting entirely the vows and promises I made in my distress: and whenever any reflections would return on me, what by company, and what by drinking, I soon mastered those fits, as I deridingly called them. But this only made way for another trial, whereby I could not but see how much I was beholden to kind providence.

Upon the sixth day we came to an anchor in Harwich road, where we lay wind bound with some New-castle ships; and there being good anchorage, and our cables sound, the seamen forgot their late toil and danger, and spent the time as merry as if they had been on shore. But on the eighth day there arose a brisk gale of wind, which prevented our tiding it up the river; and still increasing, our ship rode fore-castle in, and shipped several large seas.

It was not long before horror seized the seamen themselves, and I heard the master express this melancholy ejaculation, *Lord have mercy upon us, we shall be all lost and undone!* For my part, sick unto death, I kept my cabin, till the universal and terribly dreadful apprehensions of our speedy fate made me get upon deck: and there I was affrighted indeed. The sea went mountains high: I could see nothing but distress around us: two ships had cut their masts on board, and another was foundered: two more that had lost their anchors were forced out to the mercy of the ocean; and, to save our lives, we were forced to cut our foremast and mainmast quite away.

Who is there so ignorant as not to judge of my dreadful condition? I was but a fresh-water sailor, and therefore it seemed more terrible. Our ship was very good, but over-loaded; which made the sailors often cry out, *she would founder*: words I then was ignorant of. All this while the storm continuing, and rather increasing, the master and the more sober part of his men went to prayers, expecting death every moment. In the middle of the night one cried out, *we had sprung a leak*: another, *that there was four foot water in the hold*. I was just ready to expire with fear, when immediately all hands were called to the pump; and the men forced me also in that extremity to share with them in their labour. While thus employed, the master espying some light colliers, fired a gun as a signal of distress; and I not understanding what it meant, and thinking that either the ship broke, or some dreadful thing happened, fell into a swoon. Even in that common condition of woe, nobody minded me, excepting to thrust me aside with their feet, thinking me dead, and it was a great while before I recovered.

Happy it was for us, when, upon the signal given, they ventured out their boat to save our lives. All our pumping had been in vain, and vain had all our attempts been, had they not come to our ship's side, and our men cast them a rope over the stern with a buoy to it, which after great labour they got hold of, and we haling them to us, got into their boat, and left our ship, which we perceived sink within less than a quarter of an hour; and thus I learned what was

meant by *foundering at sea*. And now the men incessantly laboured to recover their own ship; but the sea ran so high, and the wind blew so hard, that they thought it convenient to hale within shore; which, with great difficulty and danger, at last we happily effected, landing at a place called Cromer, not far from Winterton light-house; from whence we all walked to Yarmouth, where, as objects of pity, many good people furnished us with necessaries to carry us either to Hull or London.

Strange, that after all this, like the prodigal son, I did not return to my father; who, hearing of the ship's calamity, for a long time thought me intombed in the deep. No doubt but I should have *shared in his fattened calf*, as the scripture expresseth it: but my ill fate still pushed me on, in spite of the powerful convictions of reason and conscience.

When we had been at Yarmouth three days, I met my old companion, who had given me the invitation to go on board along with his father. His behaviour and speech was altered, and in a melancholy manner asked me how I did, telling his father who I was, and how I had made this voyage for a trial only to proceed farther abroad. Upon which the old gentleman turning to me gravely, said, *Young man, you ought never to go to sea any more, but to take this for a certain sign that you will never prosper in a seafaring condition.* Sir, answered I, will you take the same resolution? *It is a different case*, said he, *it is my calling, and consequently my duty; but as you have made this voyage for a trial, you see what ill success heaven has set before your*

eyes ; and perhaps our miseries have been on your account , like Jonah in the ship of Tarshish. But pray what are you , and on what account did you go to sea ? Upon which I very freely declared my whole story ; at the end of which he made this exclamation : Ye sacred powers ! what had I committed , that such a wretch should enter into my ship , to heap upon me such a deluge of miseries ! But soon recollecting his passions, Young man , said he , if you do not go back , depend upon it , where-ever you go , you will meet with disasters and disappointments till your father's words are fulfilled upon you. And so we parted.

I thought at first to return home ; but shame opposed that good motion, as thinking I should be laughed at by my neighbours and acquaintance. So strange is the nature of youth , who are not ashamed to sin , but yet ashamed to repent ; and so far from being ashamed of those actions for which they may be accounted fools , they think it folly to return to their duty , which is the principal mark of wisdom. In short, I travelled up to London, resolving upon a voyage ; and a voyage I soon heard of, by my acquaintance with a captain who took a fancy to me , to go to the coast of Guinea. Having some money, and appearing like a gentleman , I went on board not as a common sailor or foremast-man ; nay , the commander agreed I should go that voyage with him without any expence ; that I should be his mess-mate and companion, and I was very welcome to carry any thing with me , and make the best merchandise I could.

I blessed my happy fortune, and humbly thanked

my captain for this offer; and acquainting my friends in Yorkshire, forty pounds were sent me, the greatest part of which my dear father and mother contributed to, with which I bought toys and trifles, as the captain directed me. My captain also taught me navigation, how to keep an account of the ship's course, take an observation, and let me into the knowledge of several useful branches of the mathematics. And indeed this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant; for I brought home five pounds nine ounces of gold dust for my adventure, which produced, at my return to *London*, almost three hundred pounds. But in this voyage I was extremely sick, being thrown into a violent calenture through excessive heat, trading upon the coast from the latitude of fifteen degrees north even to the line itself.

But alas! my dear friend the captain soon departed this life after his arrival. This was a sensible grief to me; yet I resolved to go another voyage with his mate, who had now got command of the ship. This proved a very unsuccessful one; for though I did not carry quite a hundred pounds of my late acquired wealth, (so that I had two hundred pounds left, which I reposed with the captain's widow, who was an honest gentlewoman,) yet my misfortunes in this unhappy voyage were very great. For our ship sailing towards the *Canary* islands, we were chased by a *Sallee* rover; and in spite of all the haste we could make, by crowding as much canvas as our yards could spread, or our masts carry, the pirate gained upon us, so that we prepared ourselves to fight. They had eighteen

guns, and we had but twelve. About three in the afternoon there was a desperate engagement, wherein many were killed and wounded on both sides: but finding ourselves overpowered with numbers, our ship disabled, and ourselves too impotent to have the least hopes of success, we were forced to surrender; and accordingly were all carried prisoners into the port of Sallee. Our men were sent to the Emperor's court to be sold there; but the pirate captain taking notice of me, kept me to be his own slave.

In this condition, I thought myself the most miserable creature on earth, and the prophecy of my father came afresh into my thoughts. However, my condition was better than I thought it to be, as will soon appear. Some hopes indeed I had that my new patron would go to sea again, where he might be taken by a Spanish or Portuguese man of war, and then I should be set at liberty. But in this I was mistaken; for he never took me with him, but left me to look after his little garden, and do the drudgery of his house, and when he returned from sea, would make me lie in the cabin, and look after the ship. I had no one that I could communicate my thoughts to, which were continually meditating my escape; no Englishman, Irishman, or Scotsman here, but myself; and for two years I could see nothing practicable, but only pleased myself with the imagination.

After some length of time, my patron, as I found, grew so poor, that he could not fit out his ship as usual: and then he used constantly, once or twice a week, if the weather was fair, to go out a-fishing,

taking me and a young Moresco boy to row the boat; and so much pleased was he with me for my dexterity in catching the fish, that he would often send me with a Moor, who was one of his kinsmen, and the Moresco youth, to catch a dish of fish for him.

One morning, as we were at the sport, there arose such a thick fog, that we lost sight of the shore: and rowing we knew not which way, we laboured all the night, and in the morning found ourselves in the ocean, two leagues from land. However, we attained there at length, and made the greater haste, because our stomachs were exceeding sharp and hungry. In order to prevent such disasters for the future, my patron ordered a carpenter to build a little state-room or cabin in the middle of the long-boat, with a place behind it to steer and hale home the main sheet, with other conveniencies to keep him from the weather, as also lockers to put in all manner of provisions, with a handsome shoulder-of-mutton sail, gibing over the cabin.

In this he frequently took us out a-fishing; and one time inviting two or three persons of distinction to go with him, made provision extraordinary, providing also three fufees with powder and shot, that they might have some sport at fowling along the sea-coast. The next morning the boat was made clean, her ancient and pendants out, and every thing ready; but their minds altering, my patron ordered us to go a-fishing, for that his guests would certainly sup with him that night.

And now I began to think of my deliverance in-

deed. In order to this I persuaded the Moor to get some provisions on board, as not daring to meddle with our patron's; and he taking my advice, we stored ourselves with rusk biscuit, and three jars of water. Besides, I privately conveyed into the boat a bottle of Brandy, some twine, thread, a hammer, hatchet, and a saw; and, in particular, some bees wax, which was a great comfort to me, and served to make candles. I then persuaded Muley (for so was the Moor called) to procure some powder and shot, pretending to kill sea curlews, which he innocently and readily agreed to. In short, being provided with all things necessary, we sailed out, resolving for my own part to make my escape, tho' it should cost me my life.

When we had passed the castle, we fell to fishing; but, though I knew there was a bite, I dissembled the matter, in order to put further out to sea. Accordingly we ran a league further; when giving the boy the helm, and pretending to stoop for something, I seized Muley by surprise, and threw him overboard. As he was an excellent swimmer, he soon arose, and made towards the boat; upon which, I took out a fusée, and presented it at him: *Muley, said I, I never yet designed to do you any harm, and seek nothing now but my redemption. I know you are able enough to swim to shore, and save your life; but if you are resolved to follow me, to the endangering of mine, the very moment you proceed, I will shoot you through the head.* The harmless creature, at these words, turned himself from me, and I make no doubt got safe to land. Then turning to the boy Xury, I perceived he trembled at the

action ; but I put him out of all fear , telling him , that if he would be true and faithful to me , I would do well by him. *And , therefore , said I , you must stroke your face to be faithful , and , as the Turks have learned you , swear by Mahomet , and the beard of your father , or else I will throw you into the sea also.* So innocent did the child then look , and with such an obliging smile consented that I readily believed him , and from that day forward began to love him entirely.

We then pursued our voyage ; and , lest they should think me gone to the Streights mouth , I kept to the southward to the truly Barbarian coast ! but in the dusk of the evening , I changed my course , and steered directly S. and by E. that I might keep near the shore ; and , having a fresh gale of wind , with a pleasant smooth sea , by three o'clock next day I was 150 miles beyond the Emperor of Morocco's dominions. Yet still having the dreadful apprehension of being retaken , I continued sailing for five days successively , till such time as the wind shifting to the southward , made me conclude , that if any vessel was in chace of me , they would proceed no farther. After so much fatigue and thought , I anchored at the mouth of a little river , I knew not what , or where : neither did I then see any people. What I principally wanted was fresh water ; and I was resolved about the dusk to swim ashore. But no sooner did the gloomy clouds of night begin to succeed the declining day , than we heard such barking , roaring , and howling of wild creatures , that one might have thought the very strangest monsters of nature , or infernal spirits , had

their residence there. Poor Xury, almost dead with fear, entreated me not to go on shore that night. *Supposing I don't*, Xury, said I, *and in the morning we should see men who are worse than those we fear, what then? O den we may give dem de shoot gun*, replied Xury, laughing, *and de gun make dem all run away*. The wit, and broken English which the boy had learned among the captives of our nation, pleased me entirely; and, to add to his cheerfulness, I gave him a dram of the bottle: we could get but little sleep all the night for those terrible howlings they made; and, indeed, we were both very much affrighted, when, by the rollings of the water, and other tokens, we justly concluded one of those monsters made towards our boat. I could not see till it came within two oars length, when taking my fusée, I let fly at him. Whether I hit him or no, I cannot tell; but he made towards the shore, and the noise of my gun increased the stupendous noise of the monsters.

The next morning I was resolved to go on shore to get fresh water, and venture my life among the beasts or savages, should either attack me. Xury said, he would take one of the jars, and bring me some. I asked him why he would go, and not I? The poor boy answered, *If wild mans come, they eat me, you go way*. A mind scarcely now to be imitated, so contrary to self-preservation, the most powerful law of nature! This indeed increased my affection to the child. *Well*, dear Xury, said I, *we will both go ashore, both kill wild mans, and they shall eat neither of us*. So giving Xury a piece of rusk bread to eat, and a dram,

we waded ashore, carrying nothing with us but our arms, and two jars for water. I did not go out of sight of the boat, as dreading the savages coming, down the river in their canoes; but the boy seeing a low descent or vale about a mile in the country, he wandered to it; and then running back to me with great precipitation, I thought he was pursued by some savage or wild beast; upon which I approached, resolving to perish or protect him from danger. As he came nearer to me, I saw something hanging over his shoulders, which was a creature he had shot, like a hare, but different in colour, and longer legs; however, we were glad of it, for it proved wholesome and nourishing meat; but what added to our joy was, my boy assured me there was plenty of water, and that he *saw no wild mans*. And greater still was our comfort, when we found fresh water in the creek where we were when the tide was out, without going so far up into the country.

In this place I began to consider that the Canary and Cape de Verde islands lay not far off; but having no instrument, I knew not what latitude, or when to stand off to sea for them; yet my hopes were, I should meet some of the English trading vessels, who would relieve and take us in.

The place I was in was no doubt that wild country, inhabited only by a few, that lies between the Emperor of Morocco's dominions and the Negroes. It is filled with wild beasts, and the Moors use it for hunting chiefly. From this place I thought I saw the top of the mountain Teneriffe in the Canaries;

which made me try twice to attain it ; but as often was I drove back, and so forced to pursue my fortune along shore.

Early one morning we came to an anchor under a little point of land , but pretty high ; and the tide beginning to flow , we lay ready to go further in. But Xury, whose youthful and penetrating eyes were sharper than mine, in a soft tone , desired me to keep far from land , lest we should be devoured. *For look yonder, mayter, said he, and see de dreadful Monster fast asleep on de side of de hill.* Accordingly looking where he pointed, I espied a fearful monster indeed. It was a terrible great lion that lay on shore , covered as it were by a shade of a piece of the hill. Xury , said I, *you shall go on shore and kill him.* But the boy looked amazed: *Me kill him, says he, he eat me at one mouth;* meaning one mouthful. Upon which I bid him lie still, and charging my biggest gun with two slugs , and a good charge of powder, I took the best aim I could to shoot him through the head ; but his leg lying over his nose, the slug broke his knee-bone. The lion awaking with the pain, got up, but soon fell down , giving the most hideous groan I ever heard : but taking my second piece , I shot him through the head , and then he lay struggling for life. Upon this Xury took heart and desired my leave to go on shore. Go then , said I. Upon which , taking a little gun in one hand , he swam to shore with the other, and coming close to the lion , put a period to his life , by shooting him again through the head.

But this was spending our ammunition in vain , the



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flesh not being good to eat. Xury was like a champion, and comes on board for a hatchet, to cut off the head of his enemy; but not having strength to perform it, he cut off and brought me a foot. I be-
thought me however that his skin would be of use. This work cost Xury and me a whole day; when spreading it on the top of our cabin; the hot beams of the sun effectually dried it in two days time, and it afterwards served me for a bed to lie on.

And now we sailed southerly, living sparingly on our provisions, and went no oftener on shore than we were obliged for fresh water. My design was to make the river Gambia or Senegal, or any where about the Cape de Verde, in hopes to meet some European ship. If Providence did not so favour me, my next course was to seek for the islands, or lose my life among the negroes. And in a word, I put my whole stress upon this, "Either that I must meet with some ship, or certainly perish".

One day as we were sailing along, we saw people stand on the shore looking at us; we could also perceive they were black and stark naked. I was inclined to go on shore, but Xury cried, No, no; however, I approached nearer, and I found they ran along the shore by me a good way. They had no weapons in their hands, except one, who held a long stick, which Xury told me was a lance, with which they could kill at a great distance. I talked to them by signs, and made them sensible I wanted something to eat; they beckoned to me to stop my boat, while two of them ran up into the country, and in less than half an hour

came back, and brought with them two pieces of dry flesh, and some corn, which we kindly accepted : and to prevent any fears on either side, they brought the food to the shore, laid it down, then went and stood a great way off till we fetched it on board, and then came close to us again.

But while we were returning thanks to them, being all we could afford, two mighty creatures came from the mountains, one as it were pursuing the other with great fury, which we were the rather inclined to believe, as they seldom appear but in the night ; and both these swiftly passing by the negroes, jumped into the sea, wantonly swimming about, as though the diversion of the waters had put a stop to their fierceness. At last one of them coming nearer to my boat than I expected or desired, I shot him directly through the head ; upon which he sunk immediately, yet rising again, would have willingly made to the shore ; but between the wound and the strangling of the water, he died before he could reach it.

It is impossible to express the consternation the poor negroes were in at the firing of my gun ; much less can I mention their surprise, when they perceived the creature to be slain by it. I made signs to them to draw near it with a rope, and then gave it to them to hale on shore. It was a beautiful leopard, which made me desire its skin : and the negroes seeming to covet the carcase, I freely gave it to them. As for the other leopard, it made to shore, and ran with a prodigious swiftness out of sight. The negroes having kindly furnished me with water, and with what

roots and grains their country afforded, I took my leave, and, after eleven days sail, came in sight of the Cape Verde, and those islands called by its name. But the great distance I was from it, and fearing contrary winds would prevent my reaching them, I began to grow melancholy and dejected, when, upon a sudden, Xury cried out, *Mayter! mayter! a ship with a sail!* and looked as affrighted as if it was his master's ship sent in search of us. But I soon discovered she was a Portuguese ship, as I thought, bound to the coast of Guinea for negroes. Upon which I strove for life to come up to them. But vain had it been, if through their perspective glasses they had not perceived me, and shortened their sail to let me come up. Encouraged at this, I set up my patron's ancient, and fired a gun, both as signals of distress; upon which they very kindly lay to, so that in three hours time I came up with them. They spoke to me in Portuguese, Spanish, and French, but neither of these did I understand; till at length a Scots sailor called, and then I told him I was an Englishman, who had escaped from the Moors at Sallee; upon which they took me kindly on board, with all my effects.

Surely none can express the inconceivable joy I felt at this happy deliverance; who, from being a late miserable and forlorn creature, was not only relieved, but in favour with the master of the ship, to whom, in return for my deliverance, I offered all I had. *God forbid*, said he, *that I should take any thing from you. Every thing shall be delivered to you when you come to Brazil. If I have saved your life, it is no more than I should*

should expect to receive myself from any other, when, in the same circumstances, I should happen to meet the like deliverance. And should I take from you what you have, and leave you at Brazil, why, this would be only taking away a life I have given. My charity teaches me better. Those effects you have will support you there, and provide you a passage home again. And indeed, he acted with the strictest justice in what he did, taking my things into his possession, and giving me an exact inventory, even to my earthen jars. He bought my boat of me for the ship's use, giving me a note of eighty pieces of eight, payable at Brazil; and if any body offered more, he would make it up. He also gave me sixty pieces for my boy Xury. It was with great reluctance I was prevailed upon to sell the child's liberty, who had served me so faithfully; but the boy was willing himself; and it was agreed, that after ten years he should be made free, upon his renouncing Mahometanism, and embracing Christianity.

Having a pleasant voyage to the Brazils, we arrived in the Bay de Todos los Santos, or All-Saints Bay, in twenty-two days after. And here I cannot forget the generous treatment of the captain. He would take nothing for my passage, gave me twenty ducats for the leopard's skin, and thirty for the lion's. Every thing he caused to be delivered, and what I would sell he bought. In short, I made about 220 pieces of my cargo; and with this stock I entered once more, as I may say, into the scene of life.

Being recommended to an honest planter, I lived with him till such time as I was informed of the man-

ner of their planting and making sugar ; and seeing how well they lived , and how suddenly they grew rich , I was filled with a desire to settle among them , and resolved to get my money remitted to me , and to purchase a plantation.

To be brief , I bought a settlement next door to an honest and kind neighbour , born at Lisbon , of English parents , whose plantation joining to mine , we improved it very amicably together. Both our stocks were low , and for two years we planted only for food : but the third year we planted some tobacco , and each of us dressed a large piece of ground the ensuing year for planting canes. But now I found how much I wanted assistance , and repented the loss of my dear boy Xury.

Having none to assist me , my father's words came into my mind ; and I used to ask myself , if what I sought was only a middle station of life , why could it not as well be obtained in England as here ? when I pondered on this with regret , the thoughts of my late deliverance forsook me. I had none to converse with but my neighbour ; no work to be done but by my own hands ; it often made me say my condition was like to that of a man cast upon a desolate island. So unhappy are we in our reflections , so forgetful of what good things we receive ourselves , and so unthankful for our deliverance from those calamities that others endure.

I was in some measure settled , before the captain , who took me up , departed from the Brazils. One day I went to him , and told him what stock I had in

London, desiring his assistance in getting it remitted; to which the good gentleman readily consented, but would only have me send for half my money, lest it should miscarry; which, if it did, I might still have the remainder to support me: and so taking letters of procuration from me, bid me trouble myself no farther about it.

And, indeed, wonderful was his kindness towards me; for he not only procured the money I had drawn for upon my captain's widow, but sent me over a servant with a cargo, proportionable to my condition. He also sent me over tools of all sorts, iron work, and utensils necessary for my plantation, and which proved of the greatest use to me in my business.

Wealth now accumulating on me, and uncommon success crowning my prosperous labours, I might have rested happy in that middle state of life my father had so often recommended; yet nothing would content me, such was my evil genius, but I must leave this happy station, for a foolish ambition in rising; and thus, once more, I cast myself into the deepest gulf of misery that ever poor creature fell into. Having lived four years in Brazil, I had not only learned the language, but contracted acquaintance with the most eminent planters, and even the merchants of St Salvadore; to whom, once, by way of discourse, having given an account of my two voyages to the coast of Guinea, and the manner of trading there for mere trifles, by which we furnish our plantations with negroes, they gave such attention to what I said, that three of them came one morning to me,

and told me they had a secret proposal to make. After enjoining me to secrecy, (it being an infringement on the powers of the kings of Portugal and Spain) they told me they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea, in order to stock the plantation with negroes, which, as they could not be publicly sold, they would divide among them; and if I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part, I should have an equal share of the negroes, without providing any stock. The thing indeed was fair enough, had I been in another condition. But I, born to be my own destroyer, could not resist the proposal, but accepted the offer, upon condition of their looking after my plantation. So making a formal will, I bequeathed my effects to my good friend the captain, as my universal heir; but obliged him to dispose of my effects as directed, one half of the produce to himself, and the other to be shipped to England.

The ship being fitted out, and all things ready, we set sail the first of September 1659, being the same day eight year I left my father and mother in Yorkshire. We sailed northward upon the coast, in order to gain Africa, till we made Cape Augustine; from whence going farther in the ocean, out of sight of land, we steered as though we were bound for the isle Fernand de Norenba, leaving the islands on the east; and then it was we met with a terrible tempest, which continued for twelve days successively, so that the winds carried us wheresoever they pleased. In this perplexity one of our men died, and one man and a boy

were washed overboard. When the weather cleared up a little, we found ourselves eleven degrees north latitude, upon the coast of Guinea. Upon this the captain gave reasons for returning; which I opposed, counselling him to stand away for Barbadoes, which, as I supposed, might be attained in fifteen days. So altering our course, we sailed north-west and by west, in order to reach the leeward islands; but a second storm succeeding, drove us to the westward; so that we were justly afraid of falling into the hands of cruel savages, or the paws of devouring beasts of prey.

In this great distress, one of our men, early in the morning, cried out, *Land, land!* which he had no sooner cried out, but our ship struck upon a sand; and in a moment the sea broke over her in such a manner, that we expected we should all have perished immediately. We knew nothing where we were, or upon what land we were driven; whether an island or the main, inhabited or not inhabited; and we could not so much as hope that the ship would hold out many minutes, without breaking in pieces, except the wind by a miracle should turn about immediately. While we stood looking at one another, expecting death every moment, the mate lays hold of the boat, and with the help of the rest got her flung over the ship's side, and getting all into her, being eleven of us, committed ourselves to God's mercy, and the wild sea. And now we saw that this last effort would not be a sufficient protection from death; so high did the sea rise, that it was impossible the boat should live. As to making sail, we had none; neither

if we had, could we make use of any. So that when we had rowed, or rather were driven about a league and a half, a raging wave, like a lofty mountain, came rolling astern of us, and took us with such fury, that at once it overset the boat. Thus being swallowed up in a moment, we had hardly time to call upon the tremendous name of God: much less to implore, in dying ejaculations, his infinite mercy to receive our departing souls.

Men are generally counted insensible, when struggling in the pangs of death; but while I was overwhelmed with water, I had the most dreadful apprehensions imaginable. For the joys of heaven and the torments of hell, seemed to present themselves before me in these dying agonies, and even small space of time, as it were, between life and death. I was going, I thought, I knew not whither, in a dismal gulf unknown, and as yet unperceived, never to behold my friends, nor the light of this world any more! Could I even have thought of annihilation, or a total dissolution of soul as well as body, the gloomy thoughts of having no further being, no knowledge of what we hoped for, but an eternal *quietus*, without life or sense; even that, I say, would have been enough to strike me with horror and confusion! I strove however to the last extremity, while all my companions were overpowered and intombed in the deep: and it was with great difficulty I kept my breath till the wave spent itself, and retiring back, left me on the shore half dead with the water I had taken in. As soon as I got on my feet, I ran as fast as I could, lest

another wave should pursue me, and carry me back again. But, for all the haste I made, I could not avoid it; for the sea came after me like a high mountain, or furious enemy; so that my business was to hold my breath, and by raising myself on the water, preserve it by swimming. The next dreadful wave buried me at once twenty or thirty feet deep, but at the same time carried me with a mighty force and swiftness toward the shore; when raising myself, I held out as well as possible, till at length the water having spent itself, began to return, at which I struck forward, and feeling ground with my feet, I took to my heels again. Thus being served twice more, I was at last dashed against a piece of a rock, in such a manner as left me senseless; but recovering a little before the return of the wave, which, no doubt, would then have overwhelmed me, I held fast by the rock till those succeeding waves abated; and then fetching another run, was overtaken by a small wave, which was soon conquered. But before any more could overtake me, I reached the main land, where clambering up the cliffs of the shore, tired and almost spent, I sat down on the grass, free from the dangers of the foaming ocean.

No tongue can express the ecstasies and transports that my soul felt as this happy deliverance. It was like a reprieve to a dying malefactor, with the halter about his neck, and ready to be turned off. I was wrapt up in contemplation, and often lifted up my hands, with the profoundest humility, to the divine powers, for saving my life, when the rest of my com-

panions were all drowned. And now I began to cast my eyes around, to behold what place I was in, and what I had next to do. I could see no house nor people : I was wet, yet had no clothes to shift me ; hungry and thirsty, yet had nothing to eat or drink ; no weapon to destroy any creature for my sustenance, nor defend myself against devouring beasts ; in short, I had nothing but a knife, a tobacco-pipe, and a box half filled with tobacco. The darksome night coming upon me, increased my fears of being devoured by wild creatures ; my mind was plunged in despair, and having no prospect, as I thought, of life before me, I prepared for another kind of death than what I had lately escaped. I walked about a furlong to see if I could find any fresh water, which I did, to my great joy ; and taking a quid of tobacco to prevent hunger, I got up into a thick bushy tree, and seating myself so that I could not fall, a deep sleep overtook me, and for that night buried my sorrows in a quiet repose.

It was broad day the next morning before I awakened ; when I not only perceived the tempest was ceased, but saw the ship driven almost as far as the rock before mentioned, which the waves had dashed me against, and which was about a mile from the place where I was. When I came down from my apartment in the tree, I perceived the ship's boat two miles distant on my right hand, lying on shore, as the waves had cast her. I thought to have got to her ; but there being an inlet of water of about half a mile's breadth between it and me, I returned again towards the ship, as hoping to find something for my

more immediate subsistence. About noon, when the sea was calm, that I could come within a quarter of a mile of her, it was to my grief I perceived, that, if we had kept on board, all our lives had been saved. These thoughts, and my solitude, drew tears from my eyes, though all in vain. So resolving to get to the ship, I stripped and leaped into the water; when swimming round her I was afraid I should not get any thing to lay hold of; but it was my good fortune to espy a small piece of rope hang down by the fore-chains, so low, that, by the help of it, though with great difficulty, I got into the fore-castle of the ship. Here I found that the ship was bulged, and had a great deal of water in her hold; her stern was lifted up against a bank, and her head almost to the water. All her quarter, and what was there, were free and dry. The provisions I found in good order, with which I crammed my pockets; and, losing no time, ate while I was doing other things; I also found some rum, of which I took a hearty dram; and now I wanted for nothing except a boat, which indeed was all, to carry away what was needful for me.

Necessity occasions quickness of thought. We had several spare yards, a spare topmast or two, and two or three large spars of wood. With these I fell to work, and flung as many of them over board as I could manage, tying every one of them with a rope that they might not drive away. This done, I went down the ship's side, and tied four of them fast together at both ends, in form of a raft, and laying two or three short pieces of plank upon them crosswise, I

found it would bear me, but not any considerable weight. Upon which I went to work again, cutting a spare topmast into three lengths, adding them to my raft with a great deal of labour and pains. I then considered what I should load it with, it being not able to bear a ponderous burden. And this I soon thought of, first laying upon it all the planks and boards I could get; next I lowered down three of the seamen's chests, after I had filled them with bread, rice, three Dutch cheeses, five pieces of dried goats flesh, and some European corn, what little the rats had spared; and for liquors, I found several cases of bottles belonging to our skipper, in which were some cordial waters, and four or five gallons of rack, which I stowed by themselves. By this time the tide beginning to flow, I perceived my coat, waistcoat, and shirt swim away, which I had left on the shore; as for my linen breeches and stockings, I swam with them on to the ship: but I soon found clothes enough, though I took no more than I wanted for the present. My eyes were chiefly on tools to work with; and, after long search, I found out the carpenter's chest, which I got safe down on my raft. I then looked for arms and ammunition, and in the great cabin found two good fowling pieces, two pistols, several powder-horns filled, a small bag of shot, and two old rusty swords. I likewise found three barrels of powder, two of which were good, but the third had taken water, also two or three broken oars, two saws, an axe, and a hammer. I then put to sea, and in getting to shore had three encouragements, 1. A smooth calm

fea. 2. The tide rising and setting in to the shore.
3. The little wind there was blew towards land. After I had failed about a mile, I found the raft to drive a little distance from the place where I first landed; and then I perceived a little opening of the land, with a strong current of the tide running into it; upon which I kept the middle of the stream. But great was my concern, when on a sudden the forepart of my raft ran aground: so that had I not, with great difficulty, for near half an hour, kept my back straining against the chests to keep my effects in their places, all I had would have gone into the sea. But after some time, the rising of the water caused the raft to float again, and coming up a little river with land on both sides, I landed in a little cave, as near the mouth as possible, the better to discover a sail, if any such providentially passed that way.

Not far off, I espied a hill of a stupendous height, surrounded with lesser hills about it, and thither I was resolved to go and view the country, that I might see what part was best to fix my habitation in. Accordingly, arming myself with a pistol, a fowling-piece, powder and ball, I ascended the mountain. There I perceived I was in an island, encompassed by the sea; no distant lands to be seen, but scattering rocks that lay to the west: that it seemed to be a barren place, and, as I thought, inhabited only by wild beasts. I perceived abundance of fowls, but ignorant of what kind, or whether good for nourishment. I shot one of them at my return, which occasioned a confused screaming among the other birds; and I

found it, by its colours and beak, to be a kind of a hawk, but its flesh was perfect carion.

When I came to my raft, I brought my effects on shore, which work spent that day entirely; and fearing that some cruel beasts might devour me in the night time while I slept, I made a kind of hut or barricade with the chests and boards I had brought on shore. That night I slept very comfortably; and the next morning my thoughts were employed to make a further attempt on the ship, and bring away what necessaries I could find, before another storm should break her to pieces. Accordingly, I got on board as before, and prepared a second raft, far more nice than the first; upon which I brought away the carpenter's stores, two or three bags full of nails, a great jack-screw, a dozen or two of hatchets, and a grindstone. I also took away several things that belonged to the gunner, particularly two or three iron crows, two barrels of musket bullets, another fowling-piece, a small quantity of powder, and a large bagful of small shot. Besides these, I took all the men's clothes I could find, a spare foretop-sail, a hammock, and some bedding; and thus completing my second cargo, I made all the haste to shore I could, fearing some wild beast might destroy what I had there already. But I only found a little wild cat sitting on one of the chests, who not seeming to fear me, or the gun that I presented at her, I threw her a piece of biscuit, which she instantly ate, and departed.

When I had gotten these effects on shore, I went to work, in order to make me a little tent with the

fail and some poles which I had cut for that purpose; and having finished it, what things might be damaged by the weather I brought in, piling all the empty chests and casks in a circle, the better to fortify it against any sudden attempt of man or beast. After this, I blocked up the doors with some boards, and an empty chest turned the long way out. I then charged my gun and pistol, and, laying my bed on the ground, slept as comfortably, till next morning, as though I had been in a Christian country.

Now, though I had enough to subsist me a long time, yet despairing of a sudden deliverance, or that both ammunition and provision might be spent before such thing happened I coveted as much as I could; and so long as the ship remained in that condition, I daily brought away one necessary or other, particularly the rigging, sails, and cordage, some twine, a barrel of wet powder, some sugar, a barrel of meal, three casks of rum, and, what indeed was most welcome to me, a whole hogshead of bread.

The next time I went, I cut the cables in pieces, carried off a hawser whole, with a great deal of iron work, and made another raft with the mizen and sprit-sail-yards; but this being so unwieldy, by the too heavy burden I had upon it, and not being able so dexterously to guide it, as the former, both my cargo and I were overturned. For my part, all the damage I sustained was a wet skin; and at low water, after much labour in diving, I got most of the cables, and some pieces of iron.

Thirteen days had I now been in the island, and

eleven times on board, bringing away all that was possible; and, I believe, had the weather been calm, I should have brought away the whole ship, piece by piece. As I was going the twelfth time, the wind began to rise; however, I ventured at low water, and rummaging the cabin, in a locker I found several razors, scissars, and some dozens of knives and forks; and in another thirty six pounds in pieces of eight, silver and gold. *Ah! simple vanity*, said I, *whom this world so much dotes on, where is now thy virtue, thy excellency to me? You cannot procure me one thing needful, nor remove me from this desolate island to a place of plenty. One of these knives, so meanly esteemed, is to me more preferable than all this heap. E'en therefore remain where thou art, to sink in the deep as unregarded, even as a creature whose life is not worth preserving.* Yet, after all this exclamation, I wrapt it up in a piece of canvass, and began to think of making another raft; but I soon perceived the wind begin to arise, a fresh gale blowing from the shore, and the sky overcast with clouds and darkness; so, thinking a raft to be in vain, I let myself into the water with what things I had about me, and it was with much difficulty I got ashore, when, soon after, it blew a fearful storm.

That night I slept very contentedly in my little tent, surrounded with all my effects; but, when I looked out in the morning, no more ship was to be seen. This much surpris'd me for the present: yet, when I considered I had lost no time, abated no pains, and had got every thing useful out of her, I comforted

myself in the best manner, and entirely submitted to the will of Providence.

My next thoughts were, how I should defend and secure myself from savages and wild beasts, if any such were in the island. At one time, I thought of digging a cave, at another I was for erecting a tent; and, at length, I resolved to do both: the manner or form of which will not, I hope, be unpleasing to describe.

When I considered the ground where I was, that it was moorish, and had no fresh water near it, my resolutions were to search for a soil healthy and well watered, where I might not only be sheltered from the sun's scorching heat: but be more conveniently situated, as well to be secured from wild men, and beasts of prey, as more easily to discover any distant sail, should it ever so happen.

And, indeed, it was not long before I had my desire. I found a little plain near a rising hill, the front towards which being as steep as a house-side, nothing could descend on me from the top. On the side of this rock was a little hollow place, resembling the entrance or door of a cave. Just before this place, on the circle of the green, I resolved my tent should stand. This plain did not much exceed a hundred yards broad, and about twice as long, like a delightful green before my door, with a pleasing, though irregular, descent every way to the low grounds by the sea-side, lying on the N. N. W. side of the hill, so that it was sheltered from the excessive heat of the sun. After this I drew a semicircle, containing ten yards in its semidiameter, and twenty yards in the whole.

driving down two rows of strong stakes not six inches from each other. Then with the pieces of cable which I had cut on board, I regularly laid them in the circle between the piles up to their tops, which were more than five feet out of the earth, and after drove another row of piles looking within side against them, between two and three feet high, which made me conclude it a little impregnable castle for men and beasts. And for my better security I would have no door, but entered in and came out by the help of a ladder, which I also made.

Here was my fence and fortrefs, into which I carried all my riches, ammunition, and stores. After which, working on the rock, what with the dirt and stones I dug out, I not only raised my ground two feet, but made a little cellar to my mansion-house; and this cost me many days labour and pains. One day in particular a shower of rain falling, thunder and lightening ensued, which put me in terror lest my powder should take fire, and not only hinder my necessary subsistence, by killing me food, but even blow up me and my habitation. To prevent which, I fell to making boxes and bags, in order to separate it, having by me near 150 weight. And thus being established as King of the island, every day I went out with my gun to see what I could kill that was fit to eat. I soon perceived numbers of goats, but very shy; yet having watched them narrowly, and seeing I could better shoot off the rocks than when in the low grounds, I happened to shoot a she goat suckling a young kid; which not thinking its dam slain, stood

by her unconcerned; and when I took the dead creature up, the young one followed me even to the inclosure. I lifted the kid over the pales, and would willingly have kept it alive; but finding it could not be brought to eat, I was forced to slay it also for my own subsistence.

Thus entered into as strange a scene of life as ever any man was in, I had most melancholy apprehensions concerning my deplorable condition; and many times the tears would plentifully run down my face, when I considered how I was debarred from all communication with humankind. Yet while these desponding cogitations would seem to make me accuse Providence, other good thoughts would interpose and reprove me after this manner: Well, supposing you are desolate, is it not better to be so than totally perish? Why were you singled out to be saved, and the rest destroyed? Why should you complain, when not only your life is preserved, but the ship driven even into your reach, in order to take what was necessary out of her for your subsistence? But to proceed. It was, by the account I kept, the 30th of September when I first landed on this island. About twelve days after, fearing lest I should lose my reckoning of time, nay, even forget the Sabbath-days, for want of pen, ink, and paper, I carved with a knife upon a large post, in great letters, and set it up, in the similitude of a cross, on the sea-shore where I landed, *I came on shore Sept. 30. 1659.* Every day I cut a notch with my knife on the sides of this square-post, and that on Sabbath was a long again as the

rest ; and every first day of the month as long again as that long one. In this manner I kept my calendar, weekly, monthly, or yearly reckoning of time. But had I made a more strict search, (as I did afterwards), I need not have set up this mark. For among the parcels belonging to the gunner, carpenter, and Captain's mate, I found those very things I wanted; particularly pens, ink, and paper; also I found two or three compasses, some mathematical instruments, dials, perspective glasses, books of navigation, three English Bibles; and several other good books which I carefully put up. Here I cannot but call to mind our having a dog and two cats on board, whom I made inhabitants with me in my castle. Though one might think I had all the necessaries that were desirable, yet still I found several things wanting. My ink was daily wasting: I wanted needles, pins, and thread to mend or keep my clothes together; and particularly a spade, pick-axe, or shovel, to remove the earth. It was a year before I finished my little bulwark; and having some intervals of relaxation, after my daily wandering abroad for provision, I drew up this plan, alternately, as creditor and debtor, to remind me of the miseries and blessings of my life, under so many various circumstances.

E V I L.

I am cast upon a desolate island, having no hopes, no prospect of a welcome deliverance.

How miserably am I sin-

G O O D.

But yet I am preserved, while my companions are perished in the raging ocean.

Yet set apart to be spared

E V I L.

gled out from the enjoyment or company of all mankind.

Like an hermit (rather should I say a lonely anchorite) am I forced from human conversation.

My clothes after some time will be worn out ; and then I shall have none to cover me.

When my ammunition is wasted , then shall I remain without any defence against wild men and beasts.

I have no creature , no soul to speak to ; none to beg assistance from. Some comfort would it be to resound my woes where I am understood , and beg assistance where I might hope for relief.

And now easing my mind a little by these reflections , I began to render my life as easy as possible.

I must here add , to the description I have given of my habitation , that having raised a turf-wall against the outside of it ; I thatched it so close , as might keep

G O O D.

from death. And he , who has so preserved me , can deliver me from this condition.

However , I have food to eat , and even a happy prospect of subsistence whilst life endures.

At present I enjoy what is absolutely needful ; and the climate is so hot , that had I never so many , I should hardly wear them.

Yet if it does , I see no danger of any to hurt me , as in Africa : And what if I had been cast away upon that coast.

Is there not God to converse to , and is not he able to relieve thee ? Already has he afforded thee sustenance , and put it in thy power to provide for thyself till he sends thee a deliverance.

it from the inclemency of the weather ; I also improved it within , enlarged my cave , and made a passage and door in the rock , which came out beyond the pale of my fortification. I next proceeded to make a chair and table , and so began to study such mechanical arts as seemed to me practicable. When I wanted a plank or board , I hewed down a tree with my hatchet , making it as thin with my axe as possible , and then smooth enough with an adze to answer my designs : yet though I could make no more this way than one board out of a tree , in length of time I got boards enough to shelter all my stores , every thing being regularly placed , and my guns securely hanging against the side of the rock. This made it a very pleasant sight to me , as being the result of vast labour and diligence ; which leaving for a while , and me to the enjoyment of , I shall give the reader an account of my Journal from the day of my landing , till the fixing and settling of my habitation , as heretofore shewn.

JOURNAL.

September 30th, 1659, I unhappy Robinson Crusoe, having suffered shipwreck , was driven on this desolate Island, which I named the Desolate Island of Despair , the rest being swallowed up in the tempestuous ocean. The next day I spent in consideration of my unhappy circumstances , having no prospect but of death , either to be starved with hunger , or devoured by beasts or merciless savages.

Octob. 1. That morning, with great comfort, I beheld the ship drove ashore. Some hopes I had, that when the storm was abated, I might be able to get some food and necessaries out of her; which I conceived were not damaged, because the ship did stand upright. At this time I lamented the loss of my companions, and our misfortune in leaving the vessel. When I perceived the ship as it were lie dry, I waded through the sands, then swam aboard, the weather being very rainy, and with scarcely any wind.

To the 14th of this month, my time was employed in making voyages, every tide getting what I could out of the ship. The weather very wet and uncertain.

Octob. 20. My raft and all the goods thereon were overfet; yet I recovered most again at low water.

Octob. 25. It blew hard, and rained night and day, when the ship went in pieces, so that nothing was seen of her but the wreck at low water. This day I secured my goods from the inclemency of the weather.

Octob. 26. I wandered to see where I could find a place convenient for my abode. I fixed up on a rock in the evening, marked out a half-moon, intending to erect a wall, fortified with piles, lined within with pieces of cables, and covered with turf.

Nov. 1 I erected my tent under a rock, and took up my lodgings very contentedly in a hammock that night.

Nov. 2. This day I fenced myself in with timber, chests, and boards.

Nov. 3. I shot two wild fowls, resembling ducks, which were good to eat, and in the afternoon made me a table.

Nov. 4. I began to live regularly. In the morning I allowed myself two or three hours to walk out with my gun; I then worked till near eleven o'clock and afterwards refreshed myself with what I had to eat. From twelve to two I would lie down to sleep. Extreme sultry weather. In the evening got to work again.

Nov. 5. Went out with my gun and dog, shot a wild cat with a soft skin, but her flesh was good for nothing. The skins of those I killed, I preserved. In my return, I perceived many wild birds, and was terrified by some seals which made off to sea.

Nov. 6. Completed my table.

Nov. 7. Fair weather. I worked till the 12th, but omitted the 11th, which, according to my calculation, I supposed to be Sunday.

Nov. 13. Rain in abundance, which, however, much cooled the earth; with thunder and lightening, caused in me a terrible surprise. The weather clearing, I secured my powder in separate parcels.

Nov. 14.-16. I made little boxes for my powder, lodging them in several places. I also shot a large fowl, which proved excellent meat.

Nov. 17. I began to dig in the rock, yet was obliged to desist for want of a pick-axe, shovel and wheel-barrow. Iron crows I caused to supply the place of the first; but with all my art I could not make a wheel-barrow.

Nov. 18. It was my fortune to find a tree, resembling what the Brazilians call an iron tree. I had like to have spoiled my axe with cutting it, being very hard and exceeding heavy; yet, with much labour and industry, I made a sort of a spade out of it.

Nov. 23. These tools being made, I daily carried on my business; eighteen days I allowed for enlarging my cave, that it might serve me, not only for a warehouse, but kitchen, parlour, and cellar. I commonly lay in the tent, unless the weather was rainy that I could not ~~lie~~ lie dry. So wet would it be at certain seasons, that I was obliged to cover all within the pale with long poles, in the form of rafters, leaning against the rock, and load them with flags and large leaves of trees, resembling a thatch.

Dec. 10. No sooner did I think my habitation finished, but suddenly a great deal of the top broke in, so that it was a mercy I was not buried in the ruins. This occasioned a great deal of pains and trouble to me, before I could make it firm and durable.

Dec. 17. I nailed up some shelves and drove nails and staples in the wall, and posts to hang things out of the way.

Dec. 20. Every thing I got into its place, then made a sort of a dresser, and another table.

Dec. 24. 25. Rain in abundance.

Dec. 26. Very fair weather.

Dec. 27. I chanced to light on some goats, shot one, wounded another. I led it home in a string, bound up his leg, and cured it in a little time; at length, it became so tame and familiar as to feed before the

door, and follow me where I pleased. This put me in mind to bring up tame creatures, in order to supply me with food after my ammunition was spent.

Dec. 28, 29, 30. The weather being excessive hot, with little air, obliged me, for the most part, to keep within doors.

Jan. 1. Still sultry. However, obliged by necessity, I went out with my gun, and found a great store of goats in the valleys; they were exceedingly shy, nor could my dog hunt them down.

Janv. 3, to 14. My employment this time was to finish the wall before described, and search the island. I discovered a kind of pigeons like our house-pigeons in a nest among the rocks. I brought them home, nursed them till they could fly, and then they left me. After this, I shot some, which proved excellent food. Some time I spent vainly in contriving to make a cask; I may well say it was vain, because I could neither join the staves, or fix the heads, so as to make it tight: so, leaving that, I took some goats tallow I had by me, and a little okum for the wick, and provided myself with a lamp, which served me instead of candles.

But now a very strange event happened. For being in the height of my search, what should come into my hand, but a bag, which was used to hold corn (as I supposed) for the fowls: so immediately resolving to put gunpowder in it, I shook all the husks and dirt upon one side of the rock, little expecting what the consequence would be. The rain had fallen plentifully a few days before; and, about a month after,

after, to my great amazement, something began to look out very green and flourishing: and when I came to view it more nicely, every day as it grew, I found about ten or twelve ears of green barley appeared in the very same shape and make as that in England.

I can scarce express the agitations of my mind at this sight. Hitherto I had looked upon the actions of this life no otherwise than only as the events of blind chance and fortune. But now, the appearance of this barley, flourishing in a barren soil, and my ignorance in not conceiving how it should come there, made me conclude, *That miracles were not yet ceased*: nay, I even thought that God had appointed it to grow there without any seed, purely for my sustenance in this miserable and desolate island. And indeed such great effect this had upon me, that it often made me melt into tears, through a grateful sense of God's mercies; and the greater still was my thankfulness, when I perceived about this little field of barley, some rice stalks, also wonderfully flourishing.

While thus pleased in mind, I concluded there must be more corn in the island; and therefore made a diligent search narrowly among the rocks: but not being able to find any, on a sudden it came into my mind, how I had shaken the husks of corn out of the bag, and then my admiration ceased, with my gratitude to the divine Being, *As thinking it was but natural*, and not to be conceived a miracle; tho' even the manner of its preservation might have made me own it as a wonderful event of God's kind providence.

It was about the latter end of June when the ears of this corn ripened, which I laid up very carefully together with 20 or 30 stalks of rice, expecting one day I should reap the fruit of my labour; yet four years were expired before I could allow myself to eat any barley bread, and much longer time before I had any rice. After this, with indefatigable pains and industry for three or four months, at last I finished my wall on the 14th of April, having no way to go into it, but by a ladder against the wall.

April 16. I finished my ladder, and ascended it; afterwards pulled it up, then let it down on the other side and descended into my new habitation, where I had space enough, and so fortified, that nothing could attack me, without scaling the walls.

But what does all human pains and industry avail, if the blessing of God do not crown our labours? Or, who can stand before the Almighty, when he stretcheth forth his arm? For one time, as I was at the entrance of my cave, there happened such a dreadful earthquake, that not only the roof of the cave came tumbling about my ears, but the posts seemed to crack terribly at the same time. This put me in great amazement; and running to the ladder, and getting over the wall, I then plainly knew it was an earthquake, the place I stood on sustaining three terrible shocks in less than three minutes. But judge of my terror when I saw the top of a great rock roll into the sea; I then expected the island would be swallowed up every moment: And what made the scene still more dreadful, was to see the sea thrown into the most

violent agitations and disorders by this tremendous accident.

For my part, I stood like a criminal at the place of execution ready to expire. At the moving of the earth, I was, as it were, sea-sick; and very much afraid lest the rock, under which was my fence and habitation, should overwhelm me and it in a lasting tomb.

When the third dreadful shock had spent itself, my spirits began to revive; yet still I would not venture to ascend the ladder, but continued sitting, not knowing what I should do. So little grace had I then, as only to say, *Lord have mercy upon me!* and no sooner was the earthquake over, but that pathetic prayer left me.

It was not long after, when a horrible tempest arose, at the same time attended with a hurricane of wind. The sea seemed mountains high, and the waves rolled so impetuously, that nothing could be perceived but froth and foam. Three hours did this storm continue, and in so violent a manner, as to tear the very trees up by the roots, which was succeeded by abundance of rain. When the tempest was over, I went to my tent; but the rain coming on in a furious manner, I was obliged to take shelter in the cave, where I was forced to cut a channel through my fortification to let the water out. It continued raining all that night, and sometime the next day. These accidents made me resolve, as soon as the weather cleared up, to build me a little hut in some open place, walled round to defend me from wild creatures and savages; not doubting but, at the next

earthquake, the mountain would fall upon my habitation and me, and swallow up all in its bowels.

April 16-20. These days I spent in contriving how and in what manner I should fix my place of abode. All this while I was under the most dreadful apprehensions. When I looked round my habitation, every thing I found in its proper place. I had several resolutions whether I should move or not: but at length I resolved to stay where I was, till I found out a convenient place where I might pitch my tent.

April 22. When I began to put my resolutions in practice, I was stoppt for want of tools and instruments to work with. Most of my axes and hatchets were useless, occasioned by cutting the hard timber that grew on the island. It took me up a full week to make my grindstone of use to me; and at last I found out a way to turn it about with my foot, by help of a wheel and a string.

April 28, 29. These days were spent in grinding my tools.

April 30. My bread falling short, I allowed myself but one biscuit a day.

May 1. As I walked along the sea-shore, I found a barrel of gunpowder, and several pieces of the wreck, which the sea had flung up. Having secured those, I made to the ship, whose stern was torn off, and washed a great distance ashore; but the rest lay in the sands. This I suppose was occasioned by the earthquake. I now resolved to keep my old place of abode: and also to go to the ship that day, but then found it impossible.

May 3. This day I went on board, and with my saw sawed off one of the beams, which kept her quarter deck. I then cleared the sand till flood.

May 4. I caught some fish, but they were not wholesome. The same day I also caught a young dolphin.

May 5. This day I also repaired to the wreck, and sawed another piece of timber; and when the flood came, I made a float of three great planks, which were driven ashore by the tide.

May 6, 7, 8, 9. These days I brought off the iron bolts, opened the deck with the iron crow, and carried two planks to land, having made away into the very middle of the wreck.

May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. All this time I spent in bringing off great quantities of iron and timber.

May 15. Took with me two hatchets on purpose to cut off some lead of the roll, but all in vain, for it lay too low under water.

May 16. I omitted going to the wreck this day; for employing myself in looking for pigeons, I outstaid my time.

May 17. I perceived several pieces of the wreck blown ashore, which I found belonged to the head of the ship.

May 24. To this day I worked on the wreck, and with great difficulty loosened some things so much with the crow, that at the first flowing tide several casks floated out, and many of the seamen's chests; yet that day nothing came to land but pieces of timber, and a hogshhead which had some Brazil pork in

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it. I continued working to the 15th of June ; (except necessary times for food and rest) and had I known how to have built a boat , I had timber and planks enough : I had also near 100 weight of sheet lead.

June 16. As I was wandering towards the sea-side, I found a large tortoise or turtle , being the first I had seen on the island , though , as I afterwards found , there were many on the other side of it.

June 17. This day I spent in cooking it , found in her threescore eggs , and her flesh the most savory and pleasant I ever tasted in my life.

June 18. I staid within this day , there being a continual rain ; and it was something more chilly and cold than usual.

June 19. Exceeding bad , taken with a trembling and shivering.

June 20. Awake all night , my head racked with pain , and feverish.

June 21. Sick unto death , and terrified with the dismal apprehensions of my condition. Prayed to God more frequently , but very confusedly.

June 22. Something better , but still uneasy in my mind

June 23. Again relapsed much as before.

June 24. Mended a second time.

June 25. A violent ague for seven hours , cold and hot fits , succeeded with faint sweats.

June 26. Better , but very weak ; yet I scrambled out , shot a she-goat , brought it home , and broiled some of it : I would willingly have stewed it , and made some broth , but had no pot.

June 27. All this day I was afflicted with an ague ; thirsty , yet could not help myself to water : prayed to God in these words ; *Lord , in pity , look upon me : Lord have mercy upon me ; have mercy upon me !* After this I fell asleep , which I found had much refreshed me when I awaked. I fell asleep a second time , and fell into this strange and terrible sort of dream.

Methought I was sitting on the same spot of ground at the outside of the wall where I sat when the storm blew after the earthquake ; and that I saw a man descending from a great black cloud , and light upon the ground. He was all over as bright as a flash of fire that a little before surrounded him ; his countenance inconceivably terrible ; the earth as it were trembled when he stepped upon the ground , and flashes of fire seemed to fill all the air. No sooner I thought him landed upon the earth , but with a long spear , or other weapon , he made towards me ; but first ascending a rising ground , his voice added to my amazement , when I thought I heard him pronounce these dreadful words *Unhappy wretch ! seeing all these things have not brought thee to repentance , thou shalt immediately die.* In pronouncing this dreadful sentence , I thought he went to kill me with the spear that was in his hand.

Any body may think it impossible for me to express the horrors of my mind at this vision ; and even when I awaked , this very dream made a deep impression upon my mind. The little divine knowledge I had , I received from my father's instructions , and that was worn out by an uninterrupted series of seafaring impiety for eight years space. Except what sickness

forced from me, I do not remember I had one thought of lifting up my heart towards God; but rather had a certain stupidity of soul, not having the least sense of fear of the Omnipotent Being when in distress, nor of gratitude to him for his deliverances. Nay, when I was on the desperate expedition on the desert African shore; I cannot remember I had one thought of what would become of me, or to beg his consolation and assistance in my sufferings and distress. When the Portugal captain took me up, and honourably used me: nay, farther, when I was even delivered from drowning by escaping to this island, I never looked upon it as a judgment, but only said I was an unfortunate dog, and that's all. Indeed, some secret transports of soul I had, which was not through grace, but only a common flight of joy, that I was yet alive, when my companions were all drowned, and no other joy could I conceive but what is common with the sailors over a bowl of punch; after they have escaped the greatest dangers.

The likelihood of wanting for neither food nor conveniencies, might have called upon me for a thankful acknowledgment to Providence. Indeed, the growth of my corn touched me with some sense; but that soon wore off again. The terrible earthquake pointed to me, as it were, the finger of God, but my dreadful amazement continued no longer than its duration. But now, when my spirits began to sink under the burden of a strong distemper, and I could leisurely view the miseries of death present themselves before my eyes, then my awakened

conscience began to reproach me with my past life, in which I had so wickedly provoked the justice of God to pour down his vengeance upon me.

Such reflections as these oppressed me even in the violence of my distemper. Some prayers I uttered, which only proceeded from my fear of death. But when I considered my father's advice and prophecy, I could not forbear weeping; for, he told me, *That, if I did persist in my folly, I should not only be deprived of God's blessing, but have time enough to reflect upon my despising his instructions, and this in a wretched time, when none could help me.* And now, concluding it to be fulfilled, having no soul in the island to administer any comfort to me, I prayed earnestly to the Lord, that he would help me in this my great calamity. And this, I think, was the first time I prayed in sincerity for many years. But now I must return to my journal.

June 28. Something refreshed with sleep, and the fit quite off, I got up. My dream still occasioned in me a great consternation; and, fearing that the ague might return the succeeding day, I concluded it time to get something to comfort me. I filled a case bottle with water, and set it within the reach of my bed, and, to make it more nourishing and less chilly, I put some rum in it. The next thing I did was to boil me a piece of goat flesh, of which I ate but little, I was very weak; however, walked about dreading the return of my distemper; and at night I supped on three of the turtle's eggs, which I roasted and ate, begging God's blessing therewith.

After I had eaten, I attempted to walk again out of doors with my gun; but was so weak, that I sat down, and looked at the sea, which was smooth and calm. While I continued here, these thoughts came into my mind.

In what manner is the production of the earth and sea, of which I have seen so much? From whence came myself, and all other creatures living, and of what are we made?

Our beings were assuredly created by some almighty invisible power, who framed the earth, the sea, and air, and all therein. But what is that power?

Certainly it must follow, that God has created it all. Yet, said I, if God has made all this, he must be the ruler of them all, and what is relating thereto; for certainly the power that makes, must indisputably have a power to guide and direct them. And if this be so (as certainly it must) nothing can happen without his knowledge or appointment. Then, surely, if nothing happens without God's appointment, certainly God has appointed these my sufferings to befall me. And here I fixed my firm belief, that it was his will that it should be so; and then proceeded to inquire, why should God deal with me in this manner? Or what I had done thus to deserve his indignation?

Here conscience flew in my face, reprehending me as a blasphemer; crying, with a loud and piercing voice, *Unworthy wretch! dare you ask what you have done? Look upon your past life, and see what you have left undone? Ask thyself, why thou wert not long*

ago in the merciless hands of death? Why not drowned in Yarmouth roads, or killed in the fight, when the ship was taken by the Sallee man of war? Why not entombed in the bowels of wild beasts on the African coast, or drowned here when all thy companions suffered shipwreck in the ocean?

Struck dumb with these reflections, I rose up in a pensive manner, being so thoughtful that I could not go to sleep; and fearing the dreadful return of my distemper, it caused me to remember, that the Brazilians use tobacco for almost all diseases. I then went to my chest, in order to find some, where heaven, no doubt, directed me to find a cure for both soul and body; for there I found one of the bibles, which, till this time, I had neither leisure nor inclination to look into; I took both the tobacco and that out of the chest, and laid them on the table. Several experiments did I try with the tobacco: First, I took a piece of leaf, and chewed; but it being very green and strong, almost stupified me. Next I steeped it in some rum an hour or two, resolving when I went to bed to take a dose of it; and, in the third place, I burnt some over a pan of fire, holding my nose over it so long as I could endure it without suffocation.

In the intervals of this operation, though my head was giddy and disturbed at the tobacco, I took up the bible to read. No sooner did I open it, but there appeared to me these words. *Call on me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.* At first this sentence made a very deep impression on my heart, but it soon wore off again, when I

considered the word *deliver* was foreign to me. And as the children of Israel said, when they were promised flesh to eat, *Can God spread a table in the wilderness?* In like manner I began to say, *Can God himself deliver me from this desolate island?* However, the words would still return to my mind, and afterwards made a greater impression upon me. As it now was very late, and the tobacco had dozed my head, I was inclined to sleep; but before I would lie down, I fell on my knees, and implored the promise that God had made to me in the holy scriptures, that, *If I called upon him in the day of trouble, he would deliver me.* With much difficulty I after drank the rum, wherein I had steeped the tobacco; which flying into my head, threw me into such a profound sleep, that it was three o'clock the next day before I awaked; or rather, I believe, I slept two days, having certainly lost a day in my account, and I could never tell any other way. When I got up, my spirits were lively and cheerful; my stomach much better, being very hungry; and, in short, no fit returned the next day, which was the 29th, but I found myself much altered for the better.

The 30th, I went abroad with my gun, but not far, and killed a sea-fowl or two, resembling a brand-goose, which, however, I cared not to eat when I brought them home, but dined on two more of the turtle's eggs. In the evening I renewed my medicine, excepting that I did not take so large a quantity, neither did I chew the leaf, or hold my head over the smoke: but next day, which was the 1st of July, ha-

ving a little spice of the cold fit, I again took my medicine as I did the first time.

July 3. The fit quite left me, but very weak. In this condition, I often thought of these words, *I will deliver thee*; and while at some times I would think of the impossibility of it, other thoughts would reprehend me, for disregarding the deliverances I had received, even from the most forlorn and distressed condition. I asked myself, what regard have I had to God for his abundant mercies? Have I done my part? *He has delivered me, but I have not glorified him*;—as if I had said, I had not owned and been thankful for these as deliverances, and how could I expect greater? So much did this sensibly touch my heart, that I gave God thanks for my recovery from sickness in the most humble prostration.

July 4. This morning I began seriously to ponder on what is written in the New Testament, resolving to read a chapter every morning and night as long as my thoughts would engage me. As soon as I set about this work seriously, I found my heart deeply affected with the impiety of my past life; these words that I thought were spoken to me in my dream revived, *All these things have not brought thee to repentance*. After this, I begged of God to assist me with his Holy Spirit in returning to my duty. One day, in perusing the scriptures, I came to these words, *He is exalted a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance, and to give remission*: immediately I laid down the book, and, with uplifted hands to heaven, loudly cried, *O blessed Jesus, thou son of David, Jesus thou ex-*

alted Princee and Saviour , give me repentance ! And now indeed I prayed with a true sense of my condition, and a more certain hope ; founded on the word of God. Now I had a different sense of these words, *Call on me , and I will deliver thee* , that is , from the dreadful load of guilt , which oppressed my sinful soul , and not from a solitary life which might rather be called a blessing , (seeing I wanted neither food nor raiment), when compared with living among the human race , surrounded with so much oppression, misery , and affliction : In a word , I came to this conclusion , that a deliverance from sin was a much greater blessing than a deliverance from affliction. But again I proceed to my journal.

To the 14th of July, I walked about with my gun, little and little at a time , having been reduced to the greatest extremity of weakness. The applications and experiments I used were perfectly new ; neither could I recommend them to any one's practice. For though it carried off the fit it very much weakened me ; and I had frequently convulsions in my nerves and limbs for some time. From hence I learned , that going abroad in rainy weather , especially when it was attended with storms and hurricanes of wind was most pernicious to health. I had now been above ten months in the island ; and as I never had seen any of the human kind, I therefore accounted myself as sole monarch ; and as I grew better, having secured my habitation to my mind , I resolved to make a tour round my kingdom, in order to make new discoveries. The 15th of July I began my journey. I first went

to the creek, where I had brought my rafts on shore and travelling farther, found the tide went no higher than two miles up, where there was a little brook of running water, on the bank of which were many pleasant savannas or meadows, plain, smooth, and covered with grafs. On the rising parts, where I supposed the water did not reach, I perceived a great deal of tobacco growing to a very strong stalk. Several other plants I likewise found, the virtues of which I did not understand. I searched a long time for the Cassava root, which I knew the Indians in that climate made their bread of; but all in vain. There were several plants of aloes, though at that time I knew not what they were; likewise I saw several sugar-canes, but imperfect for want of cultivation. With these few discoveries I came back that night, and slept contentedly in my little castle.

The next day, being the 16th, going the same way but farther than the day before, I found the country more adorned with woods and trees. Here I perceived different fruits in great abundance. Melons in plenty lay on the ground, and clusters of grapes, ripe and very rich, spread over the trees. You may imagine I was glad of this discovery, yet ate very sparingly, lest I should throw myself into a flux or fever. The grapes I found of excellent use; for when I had dried them in the sun, which preserved them as dried raisins are kept, they proved very wholesome and nourishing, and served me in those seasons when no grapes were to be had.

The night drawing on apace, I ascended up a tree,

and slept very comfortably, though it was the first time I had lain out of my habitation. And when the morning came, I proceeded with great pleasure on my way, travelling about four miles; as I imagined by the length of the valley, directing my course northward, there being a ridge of hills on the south and north side of me. At the end of this valley I came to an opening where the country seemed to descend to the west; there I found a little spring of fresh water, proceeding out of the side of a hill, with its crystal streams running directly east. And indeed here my senses were charmed with the most beautiful landscape nature could afford: for the country appeared so flourishing, green, and delightful, that to me it seemed like a planted garden. I then descended on the side of that delicious vale, when I found abundance of cocoa, orange, lemon, and citron trees, but very wild and barren at that time. As for the limes, they were delightful and wholesome, the juice of which I after used to mix in water, which made it very cool and refreshing. And now I was resolved to carry home and lay up a store of grapes, limes, and lemons, against the approaching wet season. So laying them up in separated parcels, and then taking a few of each with me I returned to my little castle, after having spent three days in this journey. Before I got home, the grapes were so bruised that they were utterly spoiled; the limes indeed were good, but of these I could bring only a few.

July 19. Having prepared two bags, I returned thither again; but, to my great surprise, found all the

grapes spread about, trod to pieces, and abundance eaten, which made me conclude there were wild beasts thereabouts. To prevent this happening again I gathered a large quantity of the grapes, and hung them upon the out-branches of the trees, both to keep them unhurt; and that they might cure and dry in the sun: and having well loaded myself with limes and lemons, I returned once more to my old place of residence.

And now contemplating on the fruitfulness of this valley, the pleasantness of its situation, its security from storms, and the delightfulness of the adjacent woods, I concluded I was settled in the worst part of the country, and therefore was thinking to remove my habitation. But when I considered again, that though it was pleasant, it was off from the sea-side where there was a possibility, some time or other, a ship might either be driven or sail by; and that to inclose myself among hills and woods must certainly put an end to my hopes of deliverance; I resolved to let my castle remain where Providence had first assigned it. Yet so ravished was I with this place, that I made me a little kind of bower, surrounding it with a double hedge, as high as I could reach, well staked and filled with bulrushes; and having spent a great part of the month of July, I think it was the first of August before I began to enjoy my labour.

Aug. 3. Perceiving my grapesto be dry, I took them from the trees, and they proved excellent good raisins of the sun: the most of which I carried to my cave; and happy for me I did so, by which I saved the best part of my winter food.

Aug. 14. This day it began to rain ; and though I had made me a tent like the other, yet having no shelter of a hill to keep me from storms, nor a cave behind me to retreat to, I was obliged to return to my old castle. The rain continued more or less every day, till the middle of October; and sometimes so violently, that I could not stir out of my cave for several days. This season I found my family to increase; for one of my cats that ran away from me, and who I thought had been dead, returned about August, with three kittens at her heels, like herself; which I thought strange, because both my cats were females, and the wild cats of the island seemed to be of a different kind from our European cats; but from these cats proceeded such numbers, that I was forced to kill and destroy them as I would do wild beasts or vermin.

To the 26th of this month, I could not stir out, it raining incessantly; when beginning to want food, I was compelled to venture twice, the first of which I shot a goat, and afterwards found a very large tortoise. The manner of my regulating my food was thus: A bunch of raisins served me for breakfast; a piece of goat's flesh or turtle broiled for my dinner, and two or three turtle eggs for my supper. While the rain lasted, I daily worked two or three hours at enlarging my cave, and by degrees worked it on towards one side, till I came to the outside of the hill, and made a door or way out, which came beyond my fence or wall, and so I came in and out this way. But after I had done this, I was troubled to see myself thus exposed; though I could not perceive any

thing to fear, a goat being the biggest creature I had seen upon this island.

Sept. 30. Casting up my notches on my post, which amounted to 365, I concluded this to be the anniversary of my landing; and, therefore, humbly prostrating myself on the ground, confessing my sins, acknowledging God's righteous judgments upon me, and praying to Jesus Christ to have mercy upon me, I fasted for twelve hours till the going down of the sun; and then eating a biscuit and a bunch of grapes, laid me on the bed, and with great comfort took my night's repose. Till this time I never had distinguished the Sabbath day; but now I made a longer notch than ordinary for the days of rest, and divided the weeks as well as I could, though I found I had lost a day or two in my account. My ink failing soon after, I omitted in my daily memorandum things of an indifferent nature, and contented myself to write down only the most remarkable events of my life. The rainy and dry seasons appeared now regular to me, and experience taught me how to provide for them, yet, in one thing I am going to relate, my experience very much failed me. You may call to mind what I have mentioned of some barley and rice which I had saved; about thirty stalks of the former and twenty of the latter; and, at that time, the sun being in its southern position, going from me, together with the rains, made me conclude it a very proper season to sow it. Accordingly I dug up a piece of ground, with my wooden spade, and dividing it in two parts, sowed about two-thirds of my seed, pre-

serving by me about a handful of each. And happy it was I did so ; for no rains falling , it was choked up , and never appeared above the earth till the wet season came again , and then part of it grew , as if it had been newly sown.

- I was resolved still to make another trial ; and seeking for a moister piece of ground near my bower I there sowed the rest of my seed in February, a little before the vernal equinox ; which having the rainy months of March and April to water it , yielded a noble crop , and sprung up very pleasantly. I had still saved part of the seed , not daring to venture all ; and by the time I found out the proper seasons to sow in, and that I might expect every year two seed-times and two harvests , my stock amounted to above half a peck of each sort of grain.

No sooner were the rains over , but the stakes which I had cut from the trees, shot out like willows the first year after lopping their heads. I was ignorant of the tree I cut them from : but they grew so regularly beautiful, that they made a most lively appearance, and so flourished in three years time, that I resolved to cut more of them ; and these soon growing, made a glorious fence , as afterwards I shall observe.

And now I perceived that the seasons of the year might generally be divided , not into summer and winter , as in Europe , but into wet and dry seasons ; as in this manner.

Half { February, } Rainy, sun coming near the Equinox.
 { March, }
 { April, }

Half	<div> <div>April,</div> <div>May,</div> <div>June,</div> <div>July,</div> <div>August,</div> </div>	<div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div>	<i>Dry, sun getting north of the line.</i>
Half	<div> <div>August,</div> <div>September,</div> <div>October,</div> </div>	<div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div>	<i>Wet, the sun being then come back.</i>
Half	<div> <div>October,</div> <div>November,</div> <div>December,</div> <div>January.</div> <div>February,</div> </div>	<div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> <div></div> </div>	<i>Dry, sun running south of the line.</i>

The wet seasons would continue longer or shorter as the winds happened to blow. But having found the ill consequences of being abroad in the rain, I took care beforehand to furnish myself with provisions: and, during the wet months, sat within doors as much as possible. At this time I contrived to make many things that I wanted, though it cost me much labour and pains, before I could accomplish them. The first I tried was to make a basket; but all the twigs I could get proved so brittle, that I could not then perform it. It now proved of great advantage to me, that, when a boy, I took great delight in standing at a basket maker's in the same town where my father lived, to view them at work; and, like other boys, curious to see the manner of their working these things, and very officious to assist, I perfectly learned the method of it, and wanted nothing but the tools. And it coming into my mind, that the

twigs of that tree of which I made my stakes, might be as tough as fallow, willow, or osiers, growing in England, I resolved to make an experiment, and went the next day to my country-seat, and found some fit for my turn; and after cutting down a quantity with my hatchet, I dried them in my pale, and, when fit to work with, carried them to my cave, where I employed myself in making several sorts of baskets, in so much that I could put in whatsoever I pleased. It is true, they were not cleverly made, yet they served my turn upon all occasions.

But still I wanted two necessary things. I had no cask to hold my liquor, except two rundlets almost full of rum, a few bottles of an ordinary size, and some square case bottles; neither had I a pot to boil any thing in, only a large kettle, unfit to make broth, or stew a bit of meat: I wanted likewise at the beginning of this dry season a tobacco-pipe; but for this I afterwards found an expedient.

I kept myself employed in planting my second row of stakes. But remembering that when I travelled up to the brook, I had a mind to see the whole island, I now resumed my intention, and taking my dog, gun, hatchet, two biscuit-cakes, a great bunch of raisins, with a larger quantity of powder and shot than usual, I began my journey. Having passed the vale where my bower stood, I came within view of the sea lying to the west; when, it being a clear day, I fairly descried land, extending from the W. to the S. W. about 10 or 15 leagues, as I concluded; but could not say whether it was an island or a continent. Neither

could I tell what this place might be ; only thought it was part of America, and where I might have been in a miserable condition, had I landed. Again I considered , that if this was the Spanish coast , certainly, one time or other , I should see some ship pass by ; and if it was not , then it must be the Savage coast , between the Spanish country and Brazil , which abounds with cannibals or man-eaters.

As I proceeded forward , I found this side of the island much more pleasant than mine ; the fields fragrant, adorned with sweet flowers and verdant grass, together with several very fine woods. There were parrots in plenty , which made me long for one to be my companion ; but it was with great difficulty I could knock one down with my stick ; and I kept him at home some years , before I could get him to call me by my name.

In the low grounds I found various sorts of hares and foxes as I took them to be , but much different from those in England. Several of these I killed, but never ate them ; neither indeed had I any occasion ; For, abounding with goats, pigeons, turtle, and grapes, I could defy Leader hall market to furnish me a better table. In this journey I did not travel above two miles a day , because I took several turns and windings, to see what discoveries I could make, returning weary enough to the place where I designed to rest all night , which was either in a tree , or to a place which I surrounded with stakes, that no wild creature might suddenly surprize me. When I came to the sea shore, I was amazed to see the splendor of it. Its strand

was covered with shells of the most beautiful fish, and constantly abounding with innumerable turtles, and fowls of many kinds, which I was ignorant of, except those called Penguins. I might have shot as many as I pleased, but was sparing of my ammunition, rather chusing to kill a she goat, which I did with much difficulty, on account of the flatness of the country.

Now, though this journey produced the most pleasing satisfaction, yet my habitation was so much to my liking, that I did not repine at my being seated on the worst part of the island. I continued my journey, travelling about twelve miles further towards the east, where I set a great pile on the shore for a mark concluding that my next journey should bring me to the other side of the island, east from my castle, and so round till I came to my post again. As I had a constant view of the country, I thought I could not miss my way; but scarce had I travelled three miles, when I descended into a very large valley, so surrounded with hills covered with wood, that I having no guide but by the sun, nor even then, unless I knew well the position of the sun at that time of the day; and, to add to my misfortune, the weather proving very hazy, I was obliged to return to my post by the sea side, and so backwards the same way I came. In this journey my dog surprized a kid, and would have killed it, had I not prevented him. As I had often been thinking of getting a kid or two, and so raising a breed of tame goats to supply me after my ammunition was spent, I took this opportunity of beginning:

ning: and, having made a collar for this little creature, with a string made of rope-yarn, I brought it to my bower, and there inclosed and left him; and, having spent a month in this journey, at length I returned to my old habitation.

Nobody can doubt of my satisfaction, when I returned to my little castle, and reposed myself in my hammock. After my journey I rested myself a week, which time I employed in making a cage for my pretty Poll. I now began to consider of the poor kid I had left at the bower, and I immediately went to fetch it home. When I came there, I found the young creature almost starved; I gave it some food, and tied it as before: but there was no occasion, for it followed me like a dog; and, as I constantly fed it, it became so loving, gentle, and fond, that it commenced one of my domestics, and would never leave me.

The rainy season of the autumnal equinox being now come, I kept the 30th of September in the most solemn manner, as usual, it being the third year of my abode in the island. I spent the whole day in acknowledging God's mercies, in giving him thanks for making this solitary life as agreeable, and less sinful, than that of human society; and for the communications of his grace to my soul, in supporting, comforting, and encouraging me to depend upon his providence, and hope for his eternal presence in the world to come.

Indeed, I often did consider how much more happy I was, in this state of life, than in that accursed manner of living I formerly used: and sometimes when

hunting, or viewing the country, the anguish of my soul would break out upon me, and my very heart would sink within me, to think of the woods, the mountains, the deserts I was in; and how I was a prisoner locked up within the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, in an uninhabited wilderness; without hopes, and without redemption. In this condition, I would often wring my hands, and weep like a child: And even sometimes in the middle of my work this fit would take me; and then I would sit down and sigh, looking on the ground for an hour or two together, till such time as my grief got vent in a flood of tears.

One morning, as I was sadly employed in this manner, I opened my Bible, when immediately I fixed my eyes upon these words, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee!* Surely, thought I, these words are directed to me; or else why should they appear just at a moment when I am bemoaning my forlorn condition? and if God does not forsake me, what matters it, since he can make me more happy in this state of life, than if I enjoyed the greatest splendor in the world? But while I was going to return God thanks for my present state, something seemed to shock my mind, as if it had thus said: Unworthy wretch! can you pretend to be thankful for a condition, from which you would pray to be delivered! Here I stopt; --and though I could not say, I thanked the divine Majesty for being there, yet I gave God thanks for placing to my view my former wicked course of life, and granting me a true

knowledge of repentance. And whenever I opened or shut the Bible, I blessed kind Providence, that directed my good friend in England to send it among my goods without my order, and for assisting me to save it from the power of the raging ocean.

And now beginning my third year, my several daily employments were these: *First*, My duty to Heaven, and diligently reading the holy Scriptures, which I did twice or thrice every day. *Secondly*, Seeking provision with my gun, which commonly took me up, when it did not rain, three hours every morning. *Thirdly*, The ordering, curing, preserving, and cooking what I had killed, or caught for my supply, which took me up a great part of the day: for, in the middle of the day, the sun being in its height, it was so hot, that I could not stir out; so that I had only but four hours in the evening to work in: and then the want of tools, of assistance, and skill, wasted a great deal of time to little purpose. I was no less than two and forty days making a board fit for a long shelf, which two sawyers, with their tools and saw-pit, would have cut out of the same tree in half a day. It was of a large tree, as my board was to be broad. I was three days in cutting it down, and two more in lopping off the boughs, and reducing it to a piece of timber. This I hacked and hewed off each side, till it became light to move; then I turned it, made one side of it smooth and flat as a board from end to end, then turned it downward, cutting the other side, till I brought the plank to be about three inches thick, and smooth on both sides. A-

ny body may judge my great labour and fatigue in such a piece of work; but this I went through with patience, as also many other things that my circumstances made necessary for me to do.

The harvest months, November and December, were now at hand, in which I had the pleasing prospect of a very good crop. But here I met with a new misfortune; for the goats and hares, having tasted of the sweetness of the blade, kept it so short, that it had not strength to shoot up into a stalk. To prevent this, I inclosed it with a hedge, and by day shot some of its devourers; and my dog, which I had tied to the field-gate, keeping barking all night, so frightened these creatures, that I got entirely rid of them.

But, no sooner did I get rid of these, than other enemies appeared, to wit, whole flocks of several sorts of birds, who only waited till my back was turned, to ruin me. So much did this provoke me, that I let fly, and killed three of the malefactors; and afterwards served them as they do notorious thieves in England, hung them up in chains as a terror to others. And, indeed, so good an effect had this, that they not only forsook the corn, but all that part of the island, so long as these criminals hung there.

My corn having ripened apace, the latter end of December, which was my second harvest, I reaped it with a scythe, made of one of my broad swords. I had no fatigue in cutting down my first crop, it was so slender. The ears I carried home in a basket, rub-

bing it out with my hands , instead of threshing it ; and when my harvest was over , found my half peck of seed produced near two bushels of rice , and two bushels and a half of barley . And now I plainly foresaw , that , by God's goodness , I should be furnished with bread ; but yet I was concerned , because I knew not how to grind or make meal of my corn , nor bread , neither knew how to bake it . I would not , however , taste any of the crop , resolved to preserve it against next season , and , in the meanwhile , use my best endeavours to provide myself with other food .

But where were my labours to end ? The want of a plough to turn up the earth , or shovel to dig it , I conquered by making me a wooden spade . The want of a harrow I supplied myself , with dragging over the corn a great bough of a tree . When it was growing , I was forced to fence it ; when ripe , to mow it , carry it home , thresh it , part it from the chaff , and save it . And , after all , I wanted a mill to grind it , sieve to dress it , yeast and salt to make it into bread , and an oven to bake it . This set my brains on work to find some expedient for every one of these necessities against the next harvest .

And now having more seed , my first care was to prepare me more land . I pitched upon two large flat pieces of ground near my castle , for that purpose , in which I sowed my seed , and fenced it with a good hedge . This took me up three months ; by which time the wet season coming on , and the rain keeping me within doors , I found several occasions to employ

myself; and, while at work, used to divert myself with talking to my parrot, learning him to know and speak his own name *Poll*, the first welcome word I ever heard spoke in the island. I had been a long time contriving how to make earthen vessels, which I wanted extremely; and, when I considered the heat of the climate, I did not doubt but if I could find any such clay, I might botch up a pot, strong enough, when dried in the sun, to bear handling, and to hold any thing that was dry, as corn, meal, and other things.

To be short, the clay I found; but it would occasion the most serious person to smile, to see what awkward ways I took, and what ugly mishapen things I made; how many either fell out or cracked by the violent heat of the sun, and fell in pieces when they were removed; so that I think it was two months time before I could perfect any thing: and even then but two clumsy things, in imitation of earthen jars. These, however, I very gently placed in wicker baskets, made on purpose for them, and between the pot and the baskets, stuffed it full of rice and barley straw: and these, I presumed, would hold my dried corn, and perhaps the meal, when the corn was bruised. As for the smaller things, I made them with better success; such as little round pots, flat dishes, pitchers, and pipkins, the sun baking them very hard.

Yet still I wanted one thing absolutely necessary, and that was an earthen pot, not only to hold my liquid, but also to bear the fire, which none of these

could do. It once happened, that as I was putting out my fire, I found therein a broken piece of one of my vessels burnt hard as a rock, and red as a tile. This made me think of burning some pots; and having no notion of a kiln, or of glazing them with lead, I fixed three large pipkins, and two or three pots in a pile one upon another. The fire I piled round the outside, and dry wood on the top, till I saw the pots in the inside red-hot, and found that they did not crack at all; and when I perceived them perfectly red, I let one of them stand in the fire about five or six hours, till the clay melted by the extremity of the heat, and would have run to glass, had I suffered it; upon which I slackened my fire by degrees, till the redness abated; and watching them till the morning, I found I had three very good pipkins, and two earthen pots, as well burnt and fit for my turn as I could desire.

No joy could be greater than mine at this discovery. For after this, I may say, I wanted for no sort of earthen ware. I filled one of my pipkins with water to boil me some meat, which it did admirably well, and with a piece of kid I made me some good broth, as well as my circumstances would afford me at that time.

The next concern I had was to get me a stone-mortar to beat some corn in, instead of a mill to grind it. Here indeed I was at a great loss, as not being fit for a stone cutter; and many days I spent to find out a great stone big enough to cut hollow and make fit for a mortar, and strong enough to bear the weight of a

pestle, that would break the corn without filling it with sand. But all the stones of the island being of a mouldering nature, rendered my search fruitless; and then I resolved to look out a great block of hard wood; which having soon found, I formed it with my axe and hammer, and then with infinite labour made a hollow in it, just as the Indians of Brazil make their canoes. When I had finished this, I made a great pestle of iron wood, and then laid them up against my succeeding harvest.

My next business was to make me a sieve, to sift my meal, and part it from the bran and husk. Having no fine thin canvass to search the meal through, I could not tell what to do. What linen I had was reduced to rags: I had goats hair enough, but neither tools to work it, nor did I know how to spin it. At length I remembered I had some neckcloths of callicoe or muslin of the sailors, which I had brought out of the ship, and with these I made three small sieves, proper enough for the work.

I come now to consider the baking part. The want of an oven I supplied by making some earthen pans very broad, but not deep. When I had a mind to bake, I made a great fire upon my hearth, the tiles of which I had made myself; and when the wood was burnt into live-coals, I spread them over it, till it became very hot; then sweeping them away, I set down my loaves, and wheeling down the earthen pots upon them, drew the ashes and coals all around the outside of the pots to continue the heat; and in this manner I baked my barley-loaves, as well as if I had been a

complete pastry-cook, and also made of the rice several cakes and puddings.

It is no wonder, that all these things took me up the best part of a year, since what intermediate time I had was bestowed in managing my new harvest and husbandry; for in the proper season I reaped my corn, carried it home, and laid it up in the ear in my large baskets, till I had time to rub, instead of threshing it. And now indeed my corn increased so much, that it produced me about twenty bushels of barley, and as much of rice, that I not only began to use it freely, but was thinking how to enlarge my barns, and resolved to sow as much at a time as would be sufficient for me for a whole year.

All this while, the prospect of land, which I had seen from the other side of the island, ran in my mind. I still meditated a deliverance from this place, though the fear of greater misfortunes might have deterred me from it. For allowing that I had attained that place, I run the hazard of being killed and eaten by the devouring cannibals; and if they were not so, yet I might be slain, as other Europeans had been, who fell into their hands. Notwithstanding all this, my thoughts ran continually upon that shore. I now wished for my boy Xury, and the long boat, with the shoulder of mutton sail: I went to the ship's boat, that had been cast a great way on the shore in the late storm. She was removed but a little; but her bottom being turned up by the impetuosity and fury of the waves and wind, I fell to work with all the strength I had, and with

levers and rollers I had cut from the wood, to turn her, and repair the damages she had sustained. This work took me up three or four weeks, when finding my little strength all in vain, I fell to undermining it by digging away the sand, and so to make it fall down, setting pieces of wood to thrust and guide it in the fall. But after this was done, I was still unable to stir it up, or to get under it, much less to move it forwards towards the water; and so I was forced to give it over.

This disappointment, however, did not frighten me. I began to think, whether it was not possible for me to make a canoe or Perigua, such as the Indians make of the trunk of a tree. But here I lay under particular inconveniencies; want of tools to make it, and want of hands to move it in the water when it was made. However, to work I went upon it, stopping all the enquiries I could make, with this very simple answer I made to myself, Let's first make it, I'll warrant I'll find some way or other to get it along when it is done.

I first cut down a cedar-tree, which was five feet ten inches diameter at the lower part next the stump, and four feet eleven inches diameter at the end of twenty two feet, after which it lessened for a space, and then parted into branches. Twenty days was I a hacking and hewing this tree at the bottom, fourteen more in cutting off the branches and limbs, and a whole month in shaping it like the bottom of a boat. As for the inside, I was three weeks with a mallet and chissel, clearing it in such a manner, as

that it was big enough to carry 26 men, much bigger than any canoe I ever saw in my life, and consequently sufficient to transport me and all my effects to that wished-for shore I so ardently desired.

Nothing remained now, but, indeed, the greatest difficulty, to get it into the water, it lying about 100 yards from it. To remedy the first inconvenience, which was a rising hill between this boat and the creek, with wonderful pains and labour I dug into the surface of the earth, and made a declivity. But when this was done, all the strength I had was as insufficient to move it, as it was when I attempted to move the boat. I then proceeded to measure the distance of ground, resolving to make a canal, in order to bring the water to the canoe, since I could not bring the canoe to the water. But as this seemed to be impracticable to myself alone, under the space of eleven or twelve years, it brought me into some sort of consideration: so that I concluded this also to be impossible, and the attempt altogether vain. I now saw, and not before, what stupidity it is to begin work before we reckon its costs, or judge rightly our own abilities to go through with its performance.

In the height of this work, my fourth year expired, from the time I was cast on this island. At this time I did not forget my anniversary; but kept it with rather greater devotion than before. For now my hopes being frustrated, I looked upon this world as a thing I had nothing to do with; and very well might I say, as father Abraham said unto Dives, *Be-*

tween me and thee there is a gulf fixed. And indeed I was separated from its wickedness too, having neither the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, nor the pride of life; I had nothing to covet, being lord, king, and emperor over the whole country I had in possession, without dispute, and without controul: I had loadings of corn, plenty of turtles, timber in abundance, and grapes above measure. What was all the rest to me? The money I had lay by me as despicable dross, which I would freely have given for a gross of tobacco pipes, or a hand-mill to grind my corn: In a word, the nature and experience of these things dictated to me this just reflection, That the good things of this world are no farther good to us, than they are for our use; and that whatever we may heap up to give others, we can but enjoy as much as we use, and no more.

These thoughts rendered my mind more easy than usual. Every time I sat down to meat, I did it with thankfulness, admiring the providential hand of God, who, in this wilderness, had spread a table to me. And now I considered what I enjoyed, rather than what I wanted; compared my present condition with what I at first expected it should be; how I should have done, if I had got nothing out of the ship; that I must have perished before I had caught fish or turtles; or lived, had I found them, like a mere savage, by eating them raw, and pulling them in pieces with my claws, like a beast. I next compared my station to that which I deserved; how undutiful I had been to my parents; how destitute of the fear

of God; how void of every thing that was good; and how ungrateful for those abundant mercies I had received from heaven, being fed, as it were, by a miracle, even as great as Elijah's being fed by ravens; and cast on a place where there were no venomous creatures to poison or devour me; in short, making God's tender mercies matter of great consolation, I relinquished all sadness, and gave way to contentment.

As long as my ink continued, which with water I made last as long as I could, I used to minute down the days of the month, on which any remarkable thing happened. And,

First, I observed, that the same day I forsook my parents and friends, and ran away to Hull, in order to go to sea, the same day afterwards, in the next year I was taken and made a slave by the Sallee rovers:

That the very day I escaped out of the wreck of the ship in Yarmouth roads, a year after, on the same day, I made my escape from Sallee in my patron's fishing-boat:

And, that on the 30th of September, being the day of the year I was born on, on that day twenty six after, was I miraculously saved, and cast ashore on this island.

The next thing that wasted after my ink, was the biscuit which I had brought out of the ship: and though I allowed myself but one cake a day for above a twelvemonth, yet I was quite out of bread for near a year, before I got any corn of my own.

In the next place, my clothes began to decay, and

my linen had been gone long before. However, I had preserved about three dozen of the sailors chequered shirts, which proved a great refreshment to me, when the violent beams of the sun would not suffer me to bear any of the seamens heavy watchcoats; which made me turn tailor, and, after a miserable botching manner, convert them to jackets. To preserve my head, I made me a cap of a goat-skins, with the hair outwards to keep out the rain; which indeed served me so well, that afterwards I made me a waistcoat and open-kneed breeches of the same: and then I contrived a sort of an umbrella, covering it with skins, which not only kept out the heat of the sun, but the rain also. Thus being easy and settled in my mind, my chiefest happiness was to converse with God, in most heavenly and comfortable ejaculations.

For five years after this I cannot say any extraordinary thing occurred to me. My chief employment was to cure my raisins, and plant my barley and rice, of both which I had a year's provision before-hand. But though I was disappointed in my first canoe, I made it, at intermediate times, my business to make a second, of much inferior size; and it was two years before I finished it. But as I perceived it would nowise answer my design of sailing to the other shore, my thoughts were confined to take a tour round the island, to see what further discoveries I could make. To this intent, after having moved her to the water, and tried how she would sail, I fitted up a little mast, to my boat, and made a sail of the ship's sail that lay

by me. I then made lockers or boxes at the end of it, to put in necessaries, provisions, and ammunition, which would preserve them dry either from rain, or the spray of the sea; and in the inside of the boat, I cut me a long hollow place to lay my gun, and to keep it dry made a flag to hang over it. My umbrella I fixed in a step in the stern, like a mast, to keep the heat of the sun off me. And now resolving to see the circumference of my little kingdom, I victualled my ship for the voyage, putting in two dozen of my barley-bread loaves, an earthen pot full of parched rice, a little bottle of rum, half a goat, powder and shot, and two watch-coats. It was the 6th of November, in the sixth year of my reign, or captivity, that I set out on this voyage; which was much longer than I expected, being obliged to put farther out, by reason of the rocks that lay a great way in the sea. And indeed so much did these rocks surprise me, that I was for putting back, fearing that if I ventured farther, it would be out of my power to return: In this uncertainty I came to an anchor just off shore, to which I waded with my gun on my shoulder, and then climbing up a hill, which overlooked that point, I saw the full extent of it, and so I resolved to run all hazards.

In this prospect from the hill, I perceived a violent current running to the east, coming very close to the point; which I the more carefully observed, thinking it dangerous, and that when I came to it, I might be drove into the sea by its force, and not able to return to the island; and certainly it must have been so, had

I not made this observation; for on the other side was the like current, with this difference, that it set off at a greater distance; and I perceived there was a strong eddy under the land; so that my chief business was to work out of the first current, and conveniently get into the eddy. Two days I staid here, the wind blowing very briskly E. S. E. which being contrary to the current, leaves a great breach of the sea upon the point; so it was neither fit for me to keep too near the shore, on account of the breach; nor stand at too great a distance, for fear of the streams. That night the wind abating, it grew so calm, that I ventured out; and here I may be a monument to all rash and ignorant pilots: For I was no sooner come to the point, and not above the boat's length from shore, but I was got into a deep water, with a current like a mill, which drove my boat along so violently, that it was impossible for me to keep her near the edge of it, but forced me more and more out from the eddy to the left of me; and all I could do with my padlers was useless, there being no wind to help me.

Now I began to look upon myself as quite lost, since, as the current ran on both sides of the island, I was very certain they must join again, and then I had no hopes but of perishing for want in the sea, after what provision I had was spent, or before, if a storm should happen to arise.

Who can conceive the present anguish of my mind at this calamity? With longing eyes did I look upon my little kingdom, and thought the island the pleasantest place in the universe. Happy, thrice hap-

py desert, and said I, shall I never see thee more? Wretched creature! whither am I going? Why did I murmur at my lonesome condition, when now I would give the whole world to be thither again? While I was thus complaining, I found myself to be driven about two leagues into the sea; however, I laboured till my strength was far spent, to keep my boat as far north as possibly I could, to that side of the current where the eddy lay on. About noon I perceived a little breeze of wind spring up from the S. S. E. which overjoyed my heart; and I was still more elated, when, in about half an hour, it blew a gentle fine gale. Had any thick weather sprung up, I had been lost another way: for having no compass on board, I should never have found the way to steer towards the island, if once it had disappeared; but improving the contrary, I set up my mast again, spread my sail, and stood away northward, as much as I could, to get rid of the current. And no sooner did the boat begin to stretch away, but I perceived, by the clearness of the water, a change of the current was near; for, where it was strong, the water was foul; and, where it was clear, the current abated. To the east I soon saw, about half a mile, a breach of the sea upon some rocks, which caused it again to separate; and as the main force of it drove away more southwardly, leaving the rocks to the north-east, so the other came back by the repulse of the rocks, making a sharp eddy, which returned back again to the north-west with a very swift stream.

They who have experienced what it is to be re-

priev'd upon the ladder, or to be sav'd from thieves, just going to take away their lives, or such as have been in the like calamities with my own, may guess my present excess of joy, how heartily I run my boat into the stream of this eddy, and how joyfully I spread my sail to the refreshing wind, standing cheerfully before it, with a smart tide under foot. By the assistance of this eddy, I was carried above a league home again, when, being in the wake of the island, betwixt the two currents, I found the water to be in a sort of a stand. About four o'clock in the afternoon, I reached within a league of the island, and perceived the points of the rock, which caused this disaster, stretching out, as I observed before, to the southward, which, throwing off the current more southwardly, had occasioned another eddy to the north. But having a fair brisk gale, I stretched across this eddy, and in an hour came within a mile of the shore, where I soon landed, to my unspeakable comfort; and after an humble prostration, thanking God for my deliverance, with a resolution to lay all thoughts of escaping aside, I brought my boat safe to a little cove, and laid me down to take a welcome repose. When I awoke, I was considering how I might get my boat home; and coasting along the shore, I came to a good bay, which ran up to a rivulet or brook, where, finding a safe harbour, I stow'd her as safe as if she had been in a dry dock made on purpose for her.

I now perceived myself not far from the place where before I had travelled on foot; so taking nothing with me, except my gun and umbrella, I began

my journey, and in the evening came to my bower, where I again laid me down to rest. I had not slept long before I was awakened in great surprise, by a strange voice that called me several times, *Robin, Robin, Robin Crusoe, poor Robin! Where are you, Robin Crusoe? where are you? where have you been?*

So fast was I asleep at first, that I did not awake thoroughly: but half asleep and half awake, I thought I dreamed that somebody spoke to me. But, as the voice repeated *Robinson Crusoe* several times, being terribly affrighted, I started up, in the utmost confusion; and, no sooner were my eyes fully open, but I beheld my pretty Poll sitting on the top of the hedge, and soon knew that it was he that called me; for just in such bewailing language I used to talk and teach him; which he so exactly learned, that he would sit upon my finger, and lay his bill close to my face, and cry, *Poor Robinson Crusoe, where are you? where have you been? how come you here?* and such like prattle I had constantly taught him. But even though I knew it to be the parrot, it was a great while before I could adjust myself; being amazed how the creature got thither, and that he should fix about that place, and no where else. But now, being assured it could be no other than my honest Poll, my wonder ceased; and reaching out my hand, and calling familiarly *Poll*, the creature came to me, and perched upon my thumb, as he was wont, constantly prating to me, with *Poor Robinson Crusoe, and how did I come here, and where had I been?* as if the bird was overjoyed to see me; and so I took him home along with me.

I was now pretty well cured of my rambling to sea; yet I could wish my boat, which had cost me so much trouble and pains, on this side the island once more, but which indeed was impracticable. I therefore began to lead a very retired life, living near a twelvemonth, in a very contented manner, wanting for nothing except conversation. As to mechanic labours, which my necessities obliged me to, I fancied I could, upon occasion, make a tolerable carpenter, were the poor tools I had to work withal but good. Besides, as I improved in my earthen ware, I contrived to make them with a wheel, which I found much easier and better, making my work shapely, which before was rude and ugly. But, I think I was never so elevated with my own performance or project, as for being able to make a tobacco-pipe, which, though it proved an awkward clumsy thing, yet it was very sound, and carried the smoke perfectly well, to my great satisfaction.

I also improved my wicker ware, making me abundance of necessary baskets, which, though not very handsome, were very handy and convenient to fetch things home in, as also for holding my stores, barley, rice, and other provisions.

My powder beginning to fail, made me examine after what manner I should kill the goats or birds to live on, after it was all gone. Upon which I contrived many ways to ensnare the goats, and see if I could catch them alive, particularly a she goat with young. At last I had my desire; for, making pit-falls and traps, baited with barley and rice, I found, one

morning, in one of them, an old he goat, and in the other three kids, one male, the other two females.

So boisterous was the old one, that I could not bring him away. But I forgot the old proverb, *that hunger will tame a lion*: for, had I kept him three or four days without victuals, and then given him some water, with a little corn, he would have been as tame as a young kid. The other creatures I bound with strings together; but I had great difficulty before I could bring them to my habitation. It was some time before they would feed; but, throwing them sweet corn, it so much tempted them, that they began to be tamer. From hence I concluded, that if I designed to furnish myself with goats flesh, when my ammunition was spent, the tamely breeding them up, like a flock of sheep, about my settlement, was the only method I could take. I concluded also I must separate the wild from the tame, or else they would always run wild as they grew up; and the best way for this, was to have some inclosed piece of ground, well fenced, either with hedge or pale, to keep them so effectually, that those within might not breakout or those without break in. Such an undertaking was very great for one pair of hands; but as there was an absolute necessity for doing it, my first care was to find a convenient piece of ground where there was likely to be herbage for them to eat, water to drink, and cover to keep them from the sun.

Here again I gave another instance of my ignorance and inexperience, pitching upon a piece of meadow land so large, that had I inclosed it, the hedge

or pale must have been at least two miles about. Indeed, had it been ten miles, I had time enough to do it in; but then I did not consider that my goats would be as wild in so much compass, as if they had had the whole island, and consequently as difficult for me to catch them. This thought came into my head, after I had carried it on, I believe, about fifty yards: I therefore altered my scheme, and resolved to inclose a piece of ground about 150 yards in length, and 100 in breadth, sufficient enough for as many as would maintain me, till such time as my flock increased, and then I could add more ground. I now vigorously prosecuted my work, and it took me about three months in hedging the first piece; in which time I tethered the three kids in the best part of it, feeding them as near me as possible, to make them familiar: and indeed I very often would carry some ears of barley, or a handful of rice, and feed them out of my hand; by which they grew so tame, that when my inclosure was finished, and I had let them loose, they would run after me for a handful of corn. This indeed answered my end; and in a year and a half's time I had a flock of about twelve goats, kids and all; and in two years after, they amounted to forty-three, besides what I had taken and killed for my sustenance. After which I inclosed five several pieces of ground to feed them in, with pens to drive them into, that I might take them as I had occasion.

/ In this project I likewise found additional blessings; for I not only had plenty of goats flesh, but milk too, which, in my beginning, I did not so much as think

of. And, indeed, though I never had milked a cow, much less a goat, or seen butter or cheese made, yet, after some essays and miscarriages, I made me both, and never afterwards wanted.

How mercifully can the omnipotent Power comfort his creatures, even in the midst of their greatest calamities? How can he sweeten the bitterest providences, and give us reason to magnify him in dungeons and prisons? What a bounteous table was here spread in a wilderness for me, where I expected nothing at first but to perish for hunger?

Certainly a Stoic would have smiled to have seen me at dinner. There sat my royal majesty, an absolute prince and ruler of my kingdom, attended by my dutiful subjects; whom, if I pleased, I could either hang, draw, quarter, give them liberty, or take it away. When I dined, I seemed a king, eating alone, none daring to presume to do so till I had done. Poll, as if he had been my principal court favourite, was the only person permitted to talk with me. My old, but faithful dog, now grown exceeding crazy, and who had found no species to multiply his kind upon, continually sat on my right hand; while my two cats sat on each side of the table, expecting a bit from my hand, as a principal mark of my royal favour. These were not the cats I had brought from the ship; they had been dead long before, and interred near my habitation by mine own hand. But one of them, as I suppose, generating with a wild cat, a couple of their young I had made tame; the rest run wild into the woods, and in time grew so impudent as to return

and plunder me of my stores, till such time as I shot a great many, and the rest left me without troubling me any more. In this plentiful manner did I live, wanting for nothing but conversation. One thing indeed concerned me, the want of my boat; I knew not which way to get her round the island. One time I resolved to go along the shore by land to her; but had any one in England met such a figure, it would either have affrighted them, or made them burst into laughter; nay, I could not but smile myself at my habit, which I think in this place will be very proper to describe.

The cap I wore upon my head was great, high, and shapeless, made of a goats-skin, with a flap or penthouse hanging down behind, not only to keep the sun from me, but to shoot the rain off from running into my neck, nothing being more pernicious than the rain falling upon the flesh in these climates. I had a short jacket of goats-skin, whose hair run down such a length on either side, that it reached down to the calves of my legs. As for shoes and stockings, I had none, but made a resemblance of something, I know not what to call them; they were made like buskins, and laced on the sides like spatterdashes, barbarously shaped like the rest of my habit. I had a broad belt of goats-skin dried, girt round me with a couple of thongs, instead of buckles; on each of which, to supply the deficiency of sword and dagger, hung my hatchet and saw. I had another belt, not so broad, yet fastened in the same manner, which hung over my shoulder, and at the end of it, under
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my left arm , hung two pouches , made also of goats-skin , to hold my powder and shot. My basket I carried on my back , and my gun on my shoulder ; and over my head a great clumsy ugly goat-skin umbrella which , however , next to my gun , was the most necessary thing about me. As for my face , the colour was not so swarthy as the Mulattoes , or as might have been expected from one who took so little care of it , in a climate within nine or ten degrees of the Equinox. At one time my beard grew so long that it hung down above a quarter of a yard ; but as I had both razors and scissars in store , I cut it all off , and suffered none to grow , except a large pair of Mahometan whiskers , the like of which I had seen worn by some Turks at Sallee , not long enough indeed to hang a hat upon , but of such a monstrous size , as would have amazed any in England to have seen.

But all this was of no consequence here , there being none to observe my behaviour or habit. And so , without fear and without controul , I proceeded on my journey , the prosecution of which took me up five or six days. I first travelled along the sea shore , directly to the place where I first brought my boat to an anchor , to get upon the rocks ; but having now no boat to take care of , I went over land a nearer way to the same height that I was before upon ; when looking forward to the point of the rock , which lay out , and which I was forced to double with my boat , I was amazed to see the sea so smooth and quiet , there being no rippling motion , nor current , any more than in other places. This made me ponder some time to

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guess the reason of it, when at last I was convinced, that the ebb setting from the west and joining with the current of water from some great river on shore must be the occasion of these rapid streams; and that, consequently, as the winds blew more westwardly, or more southwardly, so the current came the nearer, or went the farther from shore. To satisfy my curiosity, I waited there till evening, when the time of ebb being made, I plainly perceived from the rock the current again as before, with this difference, that it ran farther off, near half a league from the shore; whereas, in my expedition, it set close upon it, furiously hurrying me and my canoe along with it, which at another time it would not have done. And now I was convinced, that, by observing the ebbing and flowing of the tide, I might easily bring my boat round the island again. But when I began to think of putting it in practice, the remembrance of the late danger struck me with such horror, that I changed my resolution, and formed another, which was more safe, though more laborious; and this was to make another canoe, and so have one for one side of the island, and one for the other.

I had now two plantations in the island; the first my little fortification, fort, or castle, with many large and spacious improvements: for by this time I had enlarged the cave behind me with several little caves, one within another, to hold my baskets, corn, and straw. The piles with which I made my wall were grown so lofty and great as obscured my habitation. And near this commodious and pleasant settlement,

I lay my well cultivated and improved corn fields, which kindly yielded me its fruit in the proper season. My second plantation was that near my country-seat, or little bower, where my grapes flourished, and where, having planted many stakes, I made inclosures for my goats, so strongly fortified by labour and time, that it was much stronger than a wall, and consequently impossible for them to break through. As for my bower itself, I kept it constantly in repair, and cut the trees in such a manner, as made them grow thick and wild, and form a most delightful shade. In the centre of this stood my tent, thus erected. I had driven four piles in the ground, spreading over it a piece of the ship's sail; beneath which I made me a sort of a couch with the skins of the creatures I had slain, and other things; and having laid thereon one of the sailor's blankets, which I had saved from the wreck of the ship, and covering myself with a great watch-coat, I took up this place for my country-retreat.

Very frequently from this settlement did I use to visit my boat, and kept her in very good order. And sometimes I would venture in her a cast or two from shore, but no farther, lest either a strong current, a sudden stormy wind, or some unlucky accident, should hurry me from the island as before. But now I entreat your attention, whilst I proceed to inform you of a new, but most surprising scene of life which here befel me.

You may easily suppose, that, after having been here so long, nothing could be more amazing than to see a human creature. One day it happened, that,

going to my boat, I saw the print of a man's naked foot on the shore, very evident on the sand, as the toes, heels, and every part of it. Had I seen an apparition in the most frightful shape, I could not have been more confounded. My willing ears gave the strictest attention. I cast my eyes around, but could satisfy neither the one nor the other. I proceeded alternately to every part of the shore, but with equal effect; neither could I see any other mark, though the sand about it was as susceptible to take impression, as that which was so plainly stamped. Thus, struck with confusion and horror, I returned to my habitation, frightened at every bush and tree, taking every thing for men; and possessed with the wildest ideas. That night my eyes never closed. I formed nothing but the most dismal imaginations, concluding it must be the mark of the devil's foot which I had seen. For otherwise how could any mortal come to this island? Where was the ship that transported them? and what signs of any other footsteps? Though these seemed very strong reasons for such a supposition, yet (thought I) why should the devil make the print of his foot to no purpose, as I can see, when he might have taken other ways to have terrified me? Why should he leave his mark on the other side of the island, and that too on the sand, where the surging waves of the ocean might soon have erased the impression. Surely this action is not consistent with the subtilty of Satan, said I to myself; but rather must be some dangerous creature, some wild savage of the main land over against me, that, venturing too far in the ocean, has been

driven here, either by the violent currents or contrary winds ; and not caring to stay on this desolate island, has gone back to sea again.

Happy indeed, thought I to myself, that none of the savages had seen me in that place : yet I was not altogether without fear, lest, having found my boat, they should return in numbers and devour me, or at least carry away all my corn, and destroy my flock of tame goats. In a word, all my religious hopes vanished, as though I thought God could not now protect me by his power, who had so wonderfully preserved me so long.

What various chains of providence are there in the life of man ? How changeable are our affections, according to different circumstances ? We love to-day, what we hate to-morrow ; we shun one hour, what we seek next. This was evident in me in the most conspicuous manner : for I, who before had so much lamented my condition, in being banished from all humankind, was now even ready to expire, when I considered that a man had set his foot on this desolate island. But, when I considered my station of life, decreed by the infinitely wise and good providence of God, that I ought not to dispute my Creator's sovereignty, who had an undoubted right to govern and dispose of his creatures as he thinks convenient ; and that his justice and mercy could either punish or deliver me : I say, when I considered all this, I comfortably found it my duty to trust sincerely in him, pray ardently to him, and humbly resign myself to his divine will.

One morning, lying on my bed, these words of the sacred writings came again into my mind, *Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me.* - Upon this sentence, rising more cheerfully from my bed, I offered up my prayers in the most heavenly manner: and, when I had done, taking up my Bible to read, these words appeared first in my sight: *Wait on the Lord, and be of good cheer, and he shall strengthen thy heart: Wait, I say, on the Lord.* Such divine comfort did this give me, as to remove all cause of sadness upon that occasion.

Thus, after a world of apprehensions and fears, for three days and nights, I at last ventured out of my castle, and milked my goats, one of which was almost spoiled for want of it. I next (though in great fear) visited my bower, and milked my flocks there also; when, growing bolder, I went down to the shore again, and measuring the print of the foot to mine, to see perhaps whether I myself had not occasioned that mark, I found it much superior in largeness; and so returned home, now absolutely convinced, that either some men had been ashore, or that the island must be inhabited; and therefore that I might be surprised before I was aware.

I now began to think of providing for my security, and revolved in my mind many different schemes for that purpose. I first proposed to cut down my inclosures, and turn my tame cattle wild into the woods, that the enemy might not find them, and frequent the island in hopes of killing the same. *Secondly*, I was for digging up my corn fields for the very same reason.

And, *lastly*, I concluded to demolish my bower, lest, seeing a place of human contrivance, they might come farther, and find out and attack me in my little castle.

Such notions did the fear of danger suggest to me; and I looked, I thought, like the unfortunate king Saul, when not only oppressed by the Philistines, but also forsaken by God himself. And, it is strange, that a little before, having entirely resigned myself to the will of God, I should now have little confidence in him, fearing those more who could kill this fading body, than he who could destroy my immortal soul.

Sleep was an utter stranger to my eyes that night; yet nature, spent and tired, submitted to a silent repose the next morning. And then, joining reason with my fear, I considered, that this delightful and pleasant island might not be so entirely forsaken as I might think; but that the inhabitants from the other shore might sail, either with design, or from necessity, by cross winds; and, if the latter circumstance, I had reason to believe they would depart the first opportunity. However, my fear made me think of a place for retreat upon an attack. I now repented that I had made my door to come out beyond my fortification; to remedy which, I resolved to make me a second one: I fell to work, therefore, and drove betwixt that double row of trees, which I planted about twelve years before, several strong piles, thickening it with pieces of timber and old cables, and strengthening the foot of it with earth which I dug out of my cave; I also made me seven holes, wherein I planted my muskets like cannon, fitting

them into frames resembling carriages. This being finished with indefatigable industry, for a great way every where, I planted sticks of osier like a wood, about twenty thousand of them, leaving a large space between them and my wall, that I might have room to see an enemy, and that they might not be sheltered among the young trees, if they offered to approach the outer wall. And, indeed, scarce two years had passed over my head, when there appeared a lovely shady grove, and in six years it became a thick wood perfectly impassable. For my safety I left no avenue to go in or out; instead of which I set two ladders, one to a part of the rock which was low, and then broke in, leaving room to place another ladder upon that; so that when I took those down, it was impossible for any man to descend without hurting himself; and if they had, they would still be at the outside of my outer wall. But while I took all these measures of human prudence for my own preservation, I was not altogether unmindful of other affairs. To preserve my flock of tame goats, that the enemy should not take all at once, I looked out for the most retired part of the island, which was the place where I had lost myself before mentioned, and there finding a clear piece of land, containing three acres, surrounded with thick woods, I wrought so hard, that, in less than a month's time, I fenced it so well round, that my flocks were very well secured in it, and I put therein two he-goats and ten she-ones.

All this labour was occasioned purely by fearful apprehensions, on account of seeing the print of a

man's foot. And not contented yet with what I had done, I searched for another place towards the west point of the island, where I might also retain another flock. Then wandering on this errand more to the west of the island than ever I had yet done, and casting my eyes towards the sea, methought I perceived a boat at a great distance; but could not possibly tell what it was for want of my perspective glafs. I considered then it was no strange thing to see the print of a man's foot; and, concluding them cannibals, blessed God for my being cast on the other side of the island, where none of the savages, as I thought, ever came. But when I came down the hill to the shore, which was the S. W. point of the island, I was soon confirmed in my opinion; nor can any one describe my horror and amazement, when I saw the ground spread with skulls, hands, feet, and bones of human bodies; and particularly, I perceived a space like a circle, in the midst of which had been a fire, about which I conjectured these wretches sat, and unnaturally sacrificed and devoured their fellow creatures.

The horror and loathsomeness of this dreadful spectacle, both confounded my senses, and made me discharge from my stomach in an excessive manner. I then returned towards my habitation; and, in my way thither, shedding floods of tears, and falling down on my bended knees, gave God thanks for making my nature contrary to these wretches, and delivering me so long out of their hands.

Though reason and my long residence here had af-

fured me, that these savages never came up to the thick woody parts of the country, and that I had no reason to be apprehensive of a discovery; yet such an abhorrence did I still retain, that, for two years after, I confined myself only to my three plantations; I mean my castle, country seat, and inclosure in the woods. And though, in process of time, my dreadful apprehensions began to wear away, yet my eyes were more vigilant for fear of being surpris'd, and I was very cautious of firing my gun, lest, being heard by those creatures, they should proceed to attack me. I resolv'd, however, manfully to lose my life if they did, and went armed with three pistols stuck in my girdle; which, added to the description I have given of myself before, made me look with a very formidable appearance.

Thus my circumstances for some time remained very calm and undisturbed; and when I compar'd my condition to others, I found it far from being miserable. And, indeed, would all persons compare their circumstances, not with those above them, but with those innumerable unhappy objects beneath them, I am sure we should not hear those daily murmurings and complainings that are in the world. For my part, I wanted but few things. Indeed, the terror which the savages had put me in, spoil'd some inventions for my own conveniencies. One of my projects was to brew me some beer; a very whimsical one indeed, when it is consider'd, that I had neither casks sufficient, nor could I make any to preserve it in; neither had I hops to make it keep, yest to

make it work, nor a copper or kettle to make it boil. Perhaps, indeed, after some years, I might bring this to bear, as I had done other things. But now my inventions were placed another way; and day and night I could think of nothing but how I might destroy some of these cannibals, when proceeding to their bloody entertainments; and so saving a victim from being sacrificed, that he might after become my servant. Many were my contrivances for this purpose, and as many more objections occurred, after I hatched them. I once contrived to dig a hole under the place where they made their fire, and put therein five or six pounds of gunpowder, which would consequently blow up all those that were near it; but then I was loth to spend so much upon them, lest it should not do that certain execution I could desire, and but only affright, and not kill them. Having laid this design aside, I again proposed to myself to lie privately in ambush, in some convenient place, with my three guns double loaded, and let fly at them in the midst of their dreadful ceremony; and having killed two or three of them at every shot, fall upon the rest suddenly with my three pistols, and not let one mother's son escape. This imagination pleased my fancy so much, that I used to dream of it in the night time. To put my design in execution, I was not long seeking for a place very convenient for my purpose, where unseen I might behold every action of the savages. Here I placed my two muskets, each of which was loaded with a brace of slugs, and four or five smaller bul-

lets about the size of pistol bullets; the fowling-piece was charged with near a handful of the largest swan shot; and in every pistol were about four bullets. And thus all things being prepared, no sooner would the welcome light spread over the element, but, *like a giant refreshed with wine*, as the scripture has it, would I issue forth from my castle, and from a lofty hill, three miles distant, view if I could see any invaders approach unlawfully to my kingdom. But having waited in vain two or three months, it not only grew very tiresome to me, but brought me into some consideration, and made me examine myself, what right I had to kill these creatures in this manner.

If (argued I to myself) this unnatural custom of theirs be a sin offensive to heaven, it belongs to the divine Being, who alone has the vindictive power in his hands, to shower down his vengeance upon them. And perhaps he does so, in making them become one another's executioners. Or, if not, if God thinks these doings just, according to the knowledge they conceive, what authority have I to pretend to thwart the decrees of Providence, which has permitted these actions for so many ages, perhaps from almost the beginning of the creation? They never offended me; what right have I then to concern myself in their shedding one another's blood? And, indeed, I have since known, they value no more to kill and devour a captive taken in war, than we do to kill an ox, or eat mutton. I then concluded, it necessarily followed, that these people were no more murderers than Chri-

stians, who many times put whole troops to the sword, after throwing down their arms. Again I considered, that if I fell upon them, I should be as much in the wrong as the Spaniards, who had committed the greatest barbarities upon these people who never had offended them in their whole lives; as if the kingdom of Spain was eminent for a race of men without common compassion to the miserable, a principal sign of the most generous temper. These considerations made me pause, and brought me to think I had taken wrong measures in my resolution; I now argued with myself, that it was better for me never to attack, but to remain undiscovered as long as possibly I could; that an opposite conduct would certainly prove destructive; for, as it was scarcely to be supposed I could kill them all, I might either be overpowered by the remaining, or that some escaping, might bring thousands to my certain destruction. And, indeed, religion took their part so much as to convince me how contrary it was to my duty to be guilty of shedding human blood, innocent as to my particular, whatever they are to one another; that I had nothing to do with it, but leave it to the God of all power and dominion, as I said before, to do therein what seemed convenient to his heavenly wisdom. And, therefore, on my knees I thanked the Almighty for delivering me from blood-guiltiness, and begged his protection that I might never fall into their hands.

Thus giving over an attempt which I had rashly begun, I never ascended the hill on that occasion afterwards; I only removed my boat, which lay on the o-

ther side of the island, and every thing that belonged to her, towards the east, into a little cove, that there might not be the least shadow of discovery of any boat near, or habitation upon the island. My castle then became my cell, keeping always retired in it, except when I went out to milk my she-goats, and order my little flock in the wood, which was quite out of danger; for sure I was, that these savages never came here with expectations to find any thing, and consequently never wandered from the coast; however, as they might have several times been on shore, as well before as after my dreadful apprehensions, I looked back with horror to think in what state I might have been, had I suddenly met them slenderly armed, with one gun only loaded with small shot; and how great would have been my amazement, if, instead of seeing the print of one man's foot, I had perceived fifteen or twenty savages, who, having once set their eyes upon me, by the swiftness of their feet, would have left me no possibility of escaping? These thoughts would sink my very soul, so that I would fall into a deep melancholy, till such time as the consideration of my gratitude to the divine Being moved it from my heart. I then fell into a contemplation of the secret springs of Providence; and how wonderfully we are delivered, when insensible of it; and when intricated in uncertain mazes or labyrinths of doubt or hesitation, what secret hint directs us in the right way, when we intended to go out of it; nay, perhaps, contrary to our business, sense, or inclination. Upon which, I fixed within me this as a certain rule, never to disobey those se-

cret impressions of mind, to the acting or not acting any thing that offered, for which I yet could assign no reason. But let it be how it will, the advantage of this conduct very eminently appeared in the latter part of my abode on this island; I am a stranger in determining whence these secret intimations of Providence derive: yet methinks they are not only some proof of the converse of spirits, but also of the secret communications they are supposed to have with those that have not passed through the gloomy vale of death.

These anxieties of mind, and the care of my preservation, put a period to all future inventions and contrivances, either for accommodation or convenience. I now cared not to drive a nail, chop a stick, fire a gun, or make a fire, lest either the noise should be heard, or the smoke discover me. And on this account I used to burn my earthen ware privately in a cave which I found in the wood, and which I made convenient for that purpose; the principal cause that brought me here was to make charcoal, so that I might bake and dress my bread and meat without any danger. At that time a curious accident happened me, which I shall now relate.

While I was cutting down some wood for making my charcoal, I perceived a cavity behind a very thick branch of underwood. Curious to look into it, I attained its mouth, and perceived it sufficient for me to stand upright in it. But when I had entered, and took a further view, two rolling shining eyes, like flaming stars, seemed to dart themselves at me;

hi so that I made all the haste out that I could, as not knowing whether it was the devil or a monster that had taken *his* residence in that place. When I recovered a little from my surprise, I called myself a thousand fools, for being afraid to see the devil one moment, who had now almost lived twenty years in the most retired solitude. And therefore resuming all the courage I had, I took up a flaming firebrand, and in I rushed again. I had not proceeded above three steps, when I was more affrighted than before, for then I heard a very loud sigh, like that of a human creature in the greatest agony, succeeded with a broken noise, resembling words half expressed, and then a broken sigh again. Stepping back, Lord! (thought I to myself), where am I got? Into what enchanted place have I plunged myself, such as are reported to contain miserable captives, till death puts an end to their sorrow? And, indeed, in such a great amazement was I, that it struck me into a cold sweat; and had my hat been on my head, I believe my hair would have moved it off. But again encouraging myself with the hopes of God's protection, I proceeded forward, and, by the light of my firebrand, perceived it to be a monstrous he-goat, lying on the ground, gasping for life, and dying of mere old age. At first I stirred him, thinking to drive him out, and the poor ancient creature strove to get upon his feet, but was not able; so I e'en let him lie still, to affright the savages should they venture into this cave. I now looked round me, and found the place but small and shapeless. At the farther side of it I per-

ceived a sort of an entrance, yet so low, as must oblige me to creep on my hands and knees to it; so, having no candle, I suspended my enterprize till the next day, and then I came provided with two large ones of my own making.

Having crept upon my hands and feet through this strait, I found the roof rose higher up, I think about twenty feet. But surely never mortal saw such a glorious sight before! The roof and walls of this cave reflected a hundred thousand lights to me from my two candles, as though they were indented with shining gold, precious stones, or sparkling diamonds. And indeed it was the most delightful cavity or grotto of its kind that could be desired, though entirely dark. The floor was dry and level, and had a kind of gravel upon it; no nauseous venomous creatures to be seen there, neither any damp or wet about it. I could find no fault but in the entrance, and I began to think that even this might be very necessary for my defence, and therefore resolved to make it my most principal magazine. I brought hither two fowling-pieces and three muskets, leaving only five pieces at my castle, planted in the nature of cannon. In a barrel of gun-powder, which I took up out of the sea, I brought away about sixty pounds of good powder, which were not damaged; and these, with a great quantity of lead for bullets, I removed from my castle to this retreat, now fortified both by art and nature.

I fancied myself now like one of the giants of old, who were said to live in caves and holes among the

rocks, inaccessible to any but themselves, or, at least, most dangerous to attempt. And now I despised both the cunning and strength of the savages, either to find me out or to hurt me.

But I must not forget the old goat, who caused my late dreadful amazement. The poor creature gave up the ghost the day after my discovery; and it being very difficult to drag him out, I dug his grave, and honourably intombed him in the same place where he departed, with as much ceremony as any Welch-goat that has been interred about the high mountain *Penmenmoure*.

I think I was now in the twenty-third year of my reign, and my thoughts much easier than formerly, having contrived several pretty amusements and diversions to pass away the time in a pleasant manner. By this time my pretty Poll had learned to speak English, and pronounce his words very articulately and plain; so that for many hours we used to chat together after a very familiar manner, and he lived with me no less than twenty-six years. My dog, who was nineteen years old, sixteen of which he lived with me, died sometime ago of mere old age. As for my cats, they multiplied so fast, that I was forced to kill or drive them into the woods, except two or three, which became my particular favourites. Besides these, I continually kept two or three household kids about me, whom I did learn to feed out of my hand, and two more parrots who could talk indifferently, and call Robinson Crusoe, but not so excellently as the first, as not taking that pains with them. I had

also several sea-fowls which I had wounded and cut their wings; and growing tame, they used to breed among the low trees about my castle-walls; all which made my abode very agreeable.

But what unforeseen events suddenly destroy the enjoyments of this uncertain state of life, when we least expect them! It was now the month of December, in the southern solstice, and particular time of my harvest, which required my attendance in the fields; when going out pretty early one morning, before it was day-light, there appeared to me, from the sea-shore, a flaming light, about two miles from me, at the east end of the island, where I had observed some savages had been before, not on the other side, but to my great affliction it was on my side of the island.

Struck with a terrible surprise, and my usual apprehensions, that the savages would perceive my improvements, I returned directly to my castle, pulled up the ladder after me, making all things look as wild and natural as possibly I could. In the next place, I put myself in a posture of defence, loading my muskets and pistols, and committing myself to God's protection, I resolved to defend myself till my last breath. Two hours after, impatient for intelligence, I set my ladder up to the side of the hill, where there was a flat place, and then pulling the ladder after me, ascended to the top, where laying myself on my belly, with my perspective glass, I perceived no less than nine naked savages, sitting round a small fire, eating, as I supposed, human flesh, with their two canoes

haled on shore, waiting for the flood to carry them off again. You cannot easily express the consternation I was in at this sight, especially seeing them near me; but when I perceived their coming must be always with the current of the ebb, I became more easy in my thoughts, being very fully convinced, that I might go abroad with security all the time of flood, if they were not before landed. And, indeed, this proved just as I imagined; for no sooner did they all take boat and paddle away, but the tide made N. W. Before they went off, they danced, making ridiculous postures and gestures, for above an hour, all stark naked; but whether men or women, or both, I could not perceive. When I saw them gone, I took two guns upon my shoulders, and placing a couple of pistols in my belt, with my great sword hanging by my side, I went to the hill, where at first I made a discovery of these cannibals, and then saw there had been three canoes more of the savages on shore at that place, which, with the rest, were making over to the main land.

But nothing could be more horrid to me, when going to the place of sacrifice, the blood, the bones, and other mangled parts of human bodies appeared in my sight; and so fired was I with indignation, that I was fully resolved to be revenged on the first that came there, though I lost my life in the execution. It then appeared to me, that the visits which they make to this island are not very frequent, it being fifteen months before they came again: but still I was very uneasy, by reason of the dismal apprehensions I had

of their surprizing me unawares; nor dared I offer to fire a gun on that side of the island where they used to appear, lest, taking the alarm, the savages might return with many hundred canoes, and then God knows in what manner I should have made my end. Thus was I a year or more before I saw any of these devouring cannibals again.

But to wave this, the following accident, which demands attention, for a while, eluded the force of my thoughts in revenging myself on those Heathens.

On the 16th of May (according to my wooden calendar) the wind blew exceeding hard, accompanied with abundance of lightening and thunder all day, and succeeded by a very stormy night. The seeming anger of the heavens made me have recourse to my Bible. Whilst I was seriously pondering upon it, I was suddenly alarmed with the noise of a gun, which I conjectured was fired upon the ocean. Such an unusual surprize made me start up in a minute, when, with my ladder ascending the mountain as before, that very moment a flash of fire presaged the report of another gun, which I presently heard, and found it was from that part of the sea where the current drove me away. I could not but then think, that this must be a ship in distress, and that these were the melancholy signals for a speedy deliverance. Great, indeed, was my sorrow upon this occasion; but my labours to assist them must have proved altogether vain and fruitless. However, I brought together all the dry wood that was at hand, and making a pretty large pile, set it on fire on the hill. I was certain

they plainly perceived it, by their firing another gun as soon as it began to blaze, and after that several more from the same quarter. All night long I kept up my fire; and when the air cleared up, I perceived something a great way at sea, directly E. but could not distinguish what it was, even with my glass, by reason the weather was so very foggy out at sea. However, keeping my eyes directly fixed upon it, and perceiving it not to stir, I presently concluded it must be a ship at anchor, and so very hasty I was to be satisfied, that, taking my gun, I went to the S. E. part of the island, to the same rocks where I had been formerly drove away by the current; in which time the weather being perfectly cleared up, to my great sorrow, I perceived the wreck of a ship cast away upon those hidden rocks I found when I was out with my boat; and which, by making a kind of an eddy, were the occasion of my preservation.

Thus, what is one man's safety is another's ruin; for undoubtedly this ship had been driven on them in the night, the wind blowing strong at E. N. E. Had they perceived the island, as I now guessed they had not, certainly, instead of having fired their guns for help, they would rather have ventured in their boat, and saved themselves that way. I then thought, that perhaps they had done so, upon seeing my fire, and were cast away in the attempt; for I perceived no boat in the ship. But then I again imagined, that, perhaps, they had another vessel in company, which, upon signal, saved their lives, and took the boat up:

or that the boat might be driven into the main ocean, where these poor creatures might be in the most miserable condition. But as all these conjectures were very uncertain, I could do no more than commiserate their distress, and thank God for delivering me, in particular, when so many perished in the raging ocean.

When I considered seriously every thing concerning this wreck, and could perceive no room to suppose any of them saved, I cannot explain, by any possible force of words, what longings my soul felt upon this sight, often breaking out in this manner: O that there had been but two or three, nay even one person saved, that we might have lived together, conversed with, and comforted one another! And, so much were my desires moved, that when I repeated these words, "Oh! that there had been but one!" my hands would so clench together, and my fingers press the palms of my hands so close, that, had any soft thing been between, it would have crushed it involuntarily while my teeth would strike together, and set against each other so strong, that it required some time for me to part them.

Till the last year of my being on this island, I never knew whether or not any had been saved out of this ship. I had the affliction, some time after, to see the corpse of a drowned boy come on shore, at the end of the island which was next the shipwreck; there was nothing on him but a seaman's waistcoat, a pair of open-kneed linen drawers, and a blue linen shirt; but no particular mark to guess what nation he was of. In his pocket were two pieces of eight, and a to-

bacco pipe, the last of which I preferred much more than I did the first. And now the calmness of the sea tempted me to venture out in my boat to this wreck, not only to get something necessary out of the ship, but, perhaps, some living creature might be on board, whose life I might preserve. This had such an influence upon my mind, that immediately I went home, and prepared every thing necessary for the voyage, carrying on board my boat provisions of all sorts, with a good quantity of rum, fresh water, and a compass: so putting off, I paddled the canoe along the shore, till I came at last to the north-east part of the island, from whence I was to launch into the ocean; but here the currents ran so violently, and appeared so terrible, that my heart began to fail me; foreseeing, that if I was driven into any of these currents, I might be carried not only out of the reach or sight of the island, but even inevitably lost in the boiling surges of the ocean.

So oppressed was I at these troubles, that I gave over my enterprize, sailing to a little creek on the shore, where, stepping out, I sat me down on a rising hill, very pensive and thoughtful. I then perceived that the tide was turned, and the flood came on, which made it impracticable for me to go out for so many hours. To be more certain how the sets of the tides or currents lay when the flood came in, I ascended a higher piece of ground, which overlooked the sea both ways; and here I found, that as the current of the ebb set out close by the south point of the island, so the current of the flood set in close by the

the shore of the north side; and all that I had to do, was to keep to the north of the island in my return.

That night I reposed myself in my canoe covered with my watch-coat instead of a blanket, the heavens being my tester. I set out with the first of the tide full north, till I felt the benefit of the current, which carried me at a great rate eastward, yet not with such impetuosity as before, as to take from me all government of my canoe; so that in two hours time I came up to the wreck, which appeared to me a most melancholy sight. It seemed to be a Spanish vessel by its building, stuck fast between two rocks; her stern and quarter beaten to pieces by the sea; her mainmast and foremast were brought off by the board; that is, broken short off. As I approached nearer, I perceived a dog on board, who, seeing me coming, yelped and cried; and no sooner did I call him, but the poor creature jumped into the sea, out of which I took him up, almost famished with hunger and thirst; so that when I gave him a cake of bread, no ravenous wolf could devour it more greedily: and he drank to that degree of fresh water, that he would have burst himself, had I suffered him.

The first sight I met with in the ship, were two men drowned in the cook-room or fore-cast'le, inclosed in one another's arms: hence I very probably supposed, that when the vessel struck in the storm, so high and incessantly did the waters break in and over her, that the men, not being able to bear it, were strangled by the constant rushing in of the

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waves. There were several casks of liquor, whether wine or brandy I could not be positive, which lay in the lower hold, as were plainly perceptible by the ebbing out of the water, yet were too large for me to pretend to meddle with: likewise, I perceived several chests, which I supposed to belong to the seamen, two of which I got into my boat, without examining what was in them. Had the stern of the ship been fixed, and the fore part broken off, I should have made a very prosperous voyage; since, by what I after found in these two chests, I could not otherwise conclude, but that the ship must have abundance of wealth on board; nay, if I must guess by the course she steered, she must have been bound from the Buenos Ayres, or the Rio de la Plata, in the southern part of America, beyond the Brazils, to the Havannah, in the gulph of Mexico, and so perhaps to Spain. What became of the rest of her sailors, I could not certainly tell; and all her riches signified nothing at that time to any body.

Searching farther, I found a cask, containing about twenty gallons, full of liquor, which, with some labour, I got into my boat; in a cabin were several muskets, which I let remain there, but took away with me a great powder horn, with about four pounds of powder in it. I took also a fire shovel and tongs, two brass kettles, a copper pot to make chocolate, and a grid-iron; all which were extremely necessary to me, especially the fire shovel and tongs. And so with this cargo, accompanied with my dog, I came away, the tide serving for that pur-

pose ; and the same evening , about an hour within night , I attained the island , after the greatest toil and fatigue imaginable.

That night I reposed my wearied limbs in the boat , resolving the next morning to harbour what I had gotten in my new found subterraneous grotto ; and not carrying my cargo home to my ancient castle Having refreshed myself , and got all my effects on shore , I next proceeded to examine the particulars ; and so tapping the cask , I found the liquor to be a kind of a rum , but not like what we had at the Brazils , nor indeed near so good. At the opening of the chest , several things appeared very useful to me ; for instance , I found in one a very fine case of bottles , containing the finest and best sorts of cordial waters ; each bottle held about three pints , curiously tipt with silver. I found also two pots full of the choicest sweetmeats , and two more which the water had utterly spoiled. There were likewise several good shirts , exceeding welcome to me , and about one dozen and a half of white linen handkerchiefs and coloured neckcloths , the former of which were absolutely necessary for wiping my face in a hot day ; and , in the till , I found three bags of pieces of eight , about eleven hundred in all , in one of which , decently wrapt up in a piece of paper , were six doubloons of gold , and some small bars and wedges of the same metal ; which I believe might weigh near a pound. In the other chest , which I guessed to belong to the gunner's mate , by the mean circumstances that attended it , I only found some clothes of very little

value, except about two pounds of fine glazed powder, in three flasks, kept, as I believe, for charging their fowling-pieces on any occasion; so that, on the whole, I had no great advantage by this voyage. The money was indeed as mere dirt to me, useless and unprofitable, all which I would have freely parted with for two or three English pair of shoes and stockings, things that for many years I had not worn, except lately those which I had taken off the feet of those unfortunate men I found drowned in the wreck, yet not so good as English shoes, either for ease or service. I also found in the seaman's chest about fifty pieces of eight in rials, but no gold; so concluded that what I took from the first belonged to an officer, the latter appearing to have a much inferior person for its owner. However, as despicable as the money seemed, I likewise lugged it to my cave, laying it up securely, as I did the rest of my cargo; and after I had done all this, I returned back to my boat, rowing or paddling her along till I came to my old harbour, where I carefully laid her up, and so made the best of my way to my castle. When I arrived there, every thing seemed safe and quiet; so that now my only business was to repose myself after my wonted manner, and take care of my domestic affairs. But though I might have lived very easy, as wanting for nothing absolutely needful; yet still I was more vigilant than usual upon account of the savages, never going much abroad; or, if I did, it was to the east part of the island, where I was well assured that the savages never came, and where I might not be troubled to carry that heavy

load of weapons for my defence, as I was obliged to do if I went the other way.

Two years did I live in this anxious condition, in all which time, contrary to my former resolutions, my head was filled with nothing but projects and designs, how I might escape from this island, and so much were my wandering thoughts bent on a rambling disposition, that had I had the same boat that I went from Sallee in, I should have ventured once more to the uncertainty of the raging ocean.

I cannot however but consider myself as one of the unhappy persons, who make themselves wretched by their dissatisfaction with the stations which God has placed them in; for, not to take a review of my primitive condition, and my father's excellent advice; (the going contrary to which was, as I may say, my *original sin*), the following mistakes of the same nature certainly had been the means of my present unhappy station. What business had I to leave a settled fortune, and well-stocked plantation, improving and increasing, where, by this time, I might have been worth a hundred thousand moidores, to turn *super-cargo* to *Guinea*, to fetch negroes, when time and patience would have so much enlarged my stock at home, as to be able to employ those whose more immediate business it was to fetch them home, even to my own door?

But as this is commonly the fate of young heads, so a serious reflection upon the folly of it ordinarily attends the exercise of future years, when the dear-bought experience of time teaches us repentance.

Thus was it with me ; but notwithstanding , the thoughts of my deliverance ran so strongly in my mind , that it seemed to check all the dictates of reason and philosophy. And now to usher in my kind reader with great pleasure to the remaining part of my relation , I flatter myself it will not be taken amiss , to give him an account of my first conceptions of the manner of escaping , and upon what foundation I laid my foolish schemes.

Having retired to my castle , after my late voyage to the ship , my frigate laid up and secured , as usual , and my condition the same as before , except being richer , though I had as little occasion for riches as the Indians of Peru had for gold , before the cruel Spaniards came among them : One night in March , being the rainy season , in the four and twentieth year of my solitude , I lay down to sleep , very well in health , without distemper , pain , or uncommon uneasiness , either of body or mind ; yet notwithstanding , I could not compose myself to sleep all the night long. All this tedious while , it is impossible to express what innumerable thoughts came into my head. I traced quite over the whole history of my life in miniature , from my utmost remembrance of things till I came to this island ; and then proceeded to examine every action and passage that had occurred since I had taken possession of my kingdom. In my reflections upon the latter , I was comparing the happy posture of my affairs in the beginning of my reign , to this of anxiety , fear , and concern , since I had discovered the print of a foot in the sand ;

that while I continued without apprehension, I was incapable of feeling the dread and terror I now suffered. How thankful rather ought I to have been for the knowledge of my danger, since the greatest happiness one can be possessed of is to have sufficient time to provide against it! How stupendous is the goodness of providence, which sets such narrow bounds to the sight and knowledge of human nature, that while men walk in the midst of so many dangers they are kept serene and calm, by having the events of things hid from their eyes, and knowing nothing of those many dangers that surround them, till perhaps they are dissipated and vanish away.

When I came more particularly to consider of the real danger I had for so many years escaped; how I had walked about in the greatest security and tranquillity, at a time, perhaps, when even nothing but the brow of a hill, a great tree, or the common approach of night, had interposed between me and the destructive hands of the cannibals, who would devour me with as good an appetite, as I would a pigeon or curlew; surely all this, I say, could not but make me sincerely thankful to my great Preserver, whose singular protection I acknowledged with the greatest humility, and without which I must inevitably have fallen into the cruel hands of those devourers.

Having thus discussed my thoughts in the clearest manner, according to my weak understanding, I next proceeded to consider the wretched nature of these destroying savages, by seeming, though with great reverence, to enquire, why God should give

up any of his creatures to such inhumanity, even to brutality itself, to devour its own kind. But as this was rather matter of abstruse speculation, and as my miserable situation made me think this of mine the most uncomfortable situation in the world, I then began rather to enquire what part of the world these wretches lived in; how far off the coast was from whence they came; why they ventured over so far from home; what kind of boats conveyed them hither; and why I could not order myself and my business so, that I might be as able to attain their country, as they were to come to my kingdom?

But then, thought I, how shall I manage myself when I come thither? what will become of me if I fall into the hands of the savages? or how shall I escape from them, if they make an attempt upon me? and supposing I should not fall into their power, what shall I do for provision, or which way shall I bend my course? These counter-thoughts threw me into the greatest horror and confusion imaginable; but then I still looked upon my present condition to be the most miserable that possibly could be, and that nothing could be worse, except death. For (thought I) could I but attain the shore of the main, I might perhaps meet with some relief, or coast it along, as I did with my boy Xury, on the African shore, till I came to some inhabited country, where I might meet with some relief, or fall in with some Christian ship that might take me in; and if I failed, why then I could but meet with death, which would put an end to all my miseries. These thoughts, I must confess, were

the fruit of a distempered mind, an impatient temper made desperate, as it were; by long continuance of the troubles and the disappointments I had met with in the wreck, where I hoped to have found some living person to speak to, by whom I might have known in what place I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance. Thus, while my thoughts were agitated, my resignation to the will of heaven was entirely suspended; so that I had no power to fix my mind to any thing, but to the project of a voyage to the main land. And indeed so much was I inflamed upon this account, that it set my blood into a ferment, and my pulse beat high, as though I had been in a fever, till nature being, as it were, fatigued and exhausted with the very thoughts of it, made me submit myself to a silent repose.

In such a situation, it is very strange, that I did not dream of what I was so intent upon; but, instead of it, my mind roved on a quite different thing, altogether foreign. I dreamed, that as I was issuing from my castle, one morning, as customary, I perceived upon the shore, two canoes, and eleven savages, coming to land, who had brought with them another Indian, whom they designed to make a sacrifice of, in order to devour; but just as they were going to give the fatal blow, methought the poor designed victim jumped away, and ran directly into my little thick grove before my fortification, to abscond from his enemies; when perceiving that the others did not follow him that way, I appeared to him; that he humbly kneeled down before me, seeming to pray for my

assistance; upon which I shewed him my ladder, made him ascend, carried him to my cave, and he became my servant; and when I had gotten this man, I said to myself, Now surely I may have some hopes to attain the main-land; for this fellow will serve me as a pilot, tell me what to do, and where I must go for provisions; what places to shun, what to venture to, and what to escape. But when I awaked, and found all these inexpressible impressions of joy entirely vanished, I fell into the greatest dejection of spirit imaginable.

Yet this dream brought me to reflect, that one sure way of escaping was to get a savage; that after I had ventured my life to deliver him from the bloody jaws of his devourers, the natural sense he might have of such a preservation, might inspire him with a lasting gratitude and most sincere affection. But then this objection reasonably interposed: How can I effect this (thought I) without I attack a whole caravan of them, and kill them all? why should I proceed on such a desperate attempt, which my scruples before had suggested to be unlawful? and indeed my heart trembled at the thoughts of so much blood, tho' it were a means to procure my deliverance. 'Tis true, I might reasonably enough suppose these men to be real enemies to my life, men who would devour me, was it in their power; so that it was self-preservation in the highest degree to free myself, by attacking them in my own defence, as lawfully as if they were actually assaulting me. Though all these things, I say, seemed to me to be of the greatest weight, yet, as I just said before, the

dreadful thoughts of shedding human blood, struck such a terror to my soul, that it was a long time before I could reconcile myself to it.

But how far will the ardency of desire prompt us on? For, notwithstanding the many disputes and perplexities I had with myself, I at length resolved, right or wrong, to get one of these savages into my hands, cost what it would, or even though I should lose my life in the attempt. Inspired with this firm resolution, I set all my wits at work, to find out what methods I should take to answer my design: this, indeed, was so difficult a task, that I could not pitch upon any probable means to execute it: I, therefore, resolved continually to be in a vigilant posture, to perceive when the savages came on shore, and to leave the rest to the event, let the opportunities offer as they would.

Such were my fixed resolutions; and accordingly I set myself upon the scout, as often as I could, till such time as I was heartily tired of it. I waited for above a year and a half, the greatest part of which time I went out to the west, and south west corner of the island, almost every day, to look for canoes; but none appeared. This was a very great discouragement; yet, though I was very much concerned, the edge of my desire was as keen as ever, and the longer it seemed to be delayed, the more eager was I for it: in a word, I never before was so careful to shun the loathing sight of these savages, as I was now eager to be with them: and I thought myself sufficiently able to manage one, two, or three sava-

ges, if I had them, so as to make them my entire slaves, to do whatsoever I should direct them, and prevent their being able at any time to do me a mischief. Many times did I use to please myself with these thoughts, with long and ardent expectations; but nothing presenting, all my deep projected schemes, and numerous fancies, vanished away, as though, while I retained such thoughts, the decree of Providence was such, that no savages were to come near me.

About a year and a half after, when I was seriously musing of sundry other ways how I should attain my end, one morning early I was very much surprised by seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together on my side the island, and the savages that belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight. Such a number of them disconcerted all my measures; for, seeing so many boats, each of which would contain six, and sometimes more, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to order my measures, to attack twenty or thirty men single handed: upon which, much dispirited and perplexed, I lay still in my castle; which, however, I put in a proper posture for an attack; and, having formerly provided all that was necessary, was soon ready to enter upon an engagement, should they attempt it. Having waited for some time, my impatient temper would let me bear it no longer; I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and, as usual, ascended up to the top of the hill at two stages, standing, however, in such a manner, that my head did not appear above the hill, so that they could not easily per-

ceive me : and here , by the assistance of my perspective glass , I observed no less than thirty in number around a fire , feasting upon what meat they had dressed : how they cooked it , or what it was , I could not then perfectly tell ; but they were all dancing and capering about the flames , using many frightful and barbarous gestures.

But while , with a curious eye , I was beholding these wretches , my spirits sunk within me , when I perceived them drag two miserable creatures from the boats , to act afresh the dreadful tragedy , as I supposed they had done before . It was not long before one of them fell upon the ground , knocked down , as I suppose , with a club or wooden sword , for that was their manner ; while two or three others went immediately to work , cutting him open for their cookery , and then fell to devour him as they had done the former ; while the last unhappy captive was left by himself , till such time as they were ready for him . The poor creature looked round him with a wishful eye , trembling at the thoughts of death ; yet , seeing himself a little at liberty , nature , that very moment , as it were , inspired him with hopes of life : he started away from them , and ran , with incredible swiftness , along the sands , directly to that part of the coast where my ancient and venerable castle stood .

You may well imagine , I was dreadfully affrighted ; upon this occasion , when , as I thought , they pursued him in a whole body , all running towards my palace . And now , indeed , I expected , that part of my dream was going to be fulfilled , and that he would certainly

fly to my grove for protection ; but , for the rest of my dream , I could depend nothing on it , that the savages would pursue him thither , and find him there. However , my spirits beginning to recover , I still kept upon my guard ; and I now plainly perceived , there were but three men out of the number that pursued him. I was infinitely pleased with what swiftness the poor creature ran from his pursuers , gaining so much ground of them , that I plainly perceived , could he thus hold it for half an hour , there was not the least doubt but he would save his life from the power of his enemies.

Between them and my castle there was a creek , that very same which I sailed into with all my effects from the wreck of the ship , on the steep banks of which I very much feared the poor victim would be taken , if he could not swim for his escape : But soon was I out of pain for him , when I perceived he made nothing of it , though at full tide , but , with an intrepid courage , spurred on by the sense of danger , he plunged into the flood , swimming over in about thirty strokes , and then landing , ran with the same incredible strength and swiftness as before. When the three pursuers came to the creek , one of them , who I perceived could not swim , (happily for his part) , returned back to his company , while the others , with equal courage , but much less swiftness , attained the other side , as though they were resolved never to give over their pursuit. And now or never I thought was the time for me to procure me a servant , companion , or assistant ; and that I was decreed by Providence to be the

instrument that should save this poor creature's life. I immediately descended my two ladders with the greatest expedition ; I took up my two guns, which, I said before, were at the bottom of them: and, getting up again with the same haste towards the hill, I made nearer the sea. In a word, taking a short cut down the hill, I interposed between the pursuers and pursued, hallooing aloud to the latter, who, venturing to look back, was, no doubt, at first, as much terrified at me as I at them. I beckoned to him, with my hand, to return back, in the mean time advancing towards the pursuers, and rushing on the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece, and laid him flat on the ground. I was very unwilling to fire, lest the rest should hear, though, at that distance, I questioned whether they could or no; and, being out of sight of the smoke, they could not easily have known what to make of it. The other savage seeing his fellow fall; stopped as if he had been amazed; when, advancing towards him, I could perceive him take his bow from his back, and, fixing an arrow to it, was preparing to shoot at me, and, without dispute, might have lodged the arrow in my breast; but, in this absolutely necessary case of self preservation, I immediately fired at him, and shot him dead, just as his hand was going to draw the fatal string. All this while, the savage who had fled before stood still, and had the satisfaction to see his enemies killed, as he thought, who designed to take away his life: so affrighted was he with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood as it were like Lot's wife, fixed and immoveable, without either

sense or motion. This obliged me to halloo to him again, making the plainest signs I could to him to draw nearer. I perceived he understood these tokens by his approaching to me a little way, when, as if afraid I should kill him too, he stopped again. Several times did he advance, and as often stop in this manner, till, coming more to my view, I perceived him trembling, as if he was to undergo the same fate. Upon which I looked upon him with a smiling countenance, and still beckoning to him; at length he came close to me, and kneeled down, kissed the ground, laid his head upon it, and taking me by the foot, set it upon his head: and this, as I understood afterwards, was a token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, and, making much of him, encouraged him in the best manner I could. But my work was not yet finished; for I perceived the savage whom I knocked down, was not killed, but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself. Upon which I pointed to my new servant, and shewing him that his enemy was not yet expired, he spoke some words to me, but which I could not understand; yet being the first sound of a man's voice I had heard for above twenty-five years, they were very pleasing to me. But there was no time for reflection now, the wounded savage recovering himself so far as to sit upon the ground, which made my poor prisoner as much afraid as before; to put him out of which fear, I presented my other gun at the man, with an intent to shoot him; but my savage, for so I must now call him, prevented my firing, by making a motion to me, to lend him my

sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side. No sooner did I grant his request, but away he runs to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head as dexterously as the most accomplished executioner in Germany could have done: for, it seems, these creatures make use of wooden swords made of hard wood, which will bear edge enough to cut off heads and arms at one blow. When this valorous exploit was done, he comes to me laughing, as a token of triumph, delivered me my sword again, with abundance of surprising gestures, laying it along, with the bleeding and ghastly head of the Indian at my feet.

The greatest astonishment that my new servant conceived, was the manner of killing the savage at such a distance, without a bow and arrow: and such was his longing desire to know it, that he first pointed to the dead carcase, and then made signs to me to grant him leave to go to him. Upon which I bid him go, and, as well as I could, made him sensible I granted his request. But when he came there, how wonderfully was he struck with amazement! First he turned him on one side, then on another, wondering he could perceive no quantity of blood, he bleeding inwardly: and after sufficiently admiring the wound the bullet had made in his breast, he took up his bow and arrows, and came back again; upon which I turned to go away, making many signs to him to follow, lest the rest missing their companions, might come in pursuit of him. And this I found he understood very well, by his making me understand that his design was to bury them, that they might not be seen if it happen-

ed ; and which by signs again I made him sensible I very much approved of. Immediately he fell to work, and never was grave digger more dexterous in the world than he was ; for in an instant, as I might say, he scraped a large hole in the sands with his hands, sufficient to bury the first in ; there he dragged him, and without any ceremony he covered him over ; in like manner he served the other : so that I am sure no undertaker could be more expert in his business ; for all this was done in less than a quarter of an hour. I then called him away, and instead of carrying him directly to my castle at first, I conveyed him to my cave on the farther part of the island : and so my dream was not fulfilled in that particular, that my grove should prove an asylum or sanctuary to him.

Weary and faint, hungry and thirsty, undoubtedly must this poor creature be, supported chiefly by that vivacity of spirit, and uncommon transports of joy that his deliverance occasioned. Here I gave him bread and a bunch of raisins to eat, and water to drink, on which he fed very cheerfully, to his exceeding refreshment. I then made him a convenient bed, with a parcel of rice straw, and a blanket upon it, (a bed which I used myself sometimes), and then pointing to it, made signs for him to lie down to sleep, upon which the poor creature went to take a welcome repose.

Indeed he was a very comely handsome young fellow, extremely well made, with straight long limbs, not too large, tall and well shaped, and, as near as I could reckon, about twenty-six years of age. His

countenance had nothing in it fierce or furly, but rather a sort of majesty in his face; and yet, especially when he smiled, he had all the sweetness and softness of an European. His hair was not curled like wool, as many of the blacks are, but long and black, with the most beautiful, yet careless, tresses spreading over his shoulders. He had a very high and large forehead, with a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. His skin was not so tawny as the Virginians, Brazilians, or other Americans; but rather of a bright dun olive colour, that had something agreeable in it, though not very easy to give a description of. His face was round and plump, with a small nose, very different from the flatness of the negroes, a pretty small mouth, thin lips, fine teeth, very well set, and white as the driven snow. In a word, such handsome features, and exact symmetry in every part, made me consider, that I had saved the life of an Indian prince, no less graceful and accomplished than the great Oroonoko, whose memorable behaviour and unhappy contingencies of life have charmed the world, both to admiration of his person, and compassion to his sufferings.

But let him be either prince or peasant, all my happiness centered in this, that I had now got a good servant or companion, to whom, as he deserved, I was resolved to prove a kind master and lasting friend. He had not, I think, slept above an hour, when he awakened again, and while I was milking my goats hard by, out he runs from the cave towards me in my inclosure, and laying himself down on the

ground in the lowest prostration, made all the antic gestures imaginable, to express his thankfulness to me for being his deliverer. I confess, though the manner of his behaviour seemed to be ludicrous enough to occasion laughter; yet I was very much moved at his affection, so that my heart melted within me, fearing he might die away in excess of joy; like reprieved malefactors; especially as I was incapable either to let him blood, or administer physic. It were to be wished, that Christians would take example by this Heathen, to have a lasting remembrance of the benefits and deliverances they have received, by the kind mediation and powerful interposition of their benefactors and deliverers; and, it would likewise be happy for mankind, were there no occasion to blame many, who, instead of thankfully acknowledging favours and benefits, rather abuse and contemn those who have been the instruments to save them from destruction.

But, leaving these just reflections, I return to the object that occasioned them; for my man, to conclude the last ceremony of obedience, laid down his head again on the ground, close to my foot, and set my other foot upon his head, as he had done before, making all the signs of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me understand he would serve me as long as his life endured. As I understood him in many things, I made him sensible I was very well pleased with him; and, in a little time, I began to speak to him, and learn him how to talk to me again. In the first place, I made him un-

Understand his name was to be Friday, because it was upon that day I saved his life: then I taught him to say Master, which I made him sensible was to be my name. I likewise taught him to say Yes and No, and to know what they meant. I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, making him view me while I drank it before him, and soaked my bread in it; I gave him a cake of bread, and caused him to soak it likewise, to which he readily consented, making signs of the greatest satisfaction imaginable.

All that night did I keep him there; but no sooner did the morning light appear, when I ordered him to arise, and come along with me, with certain tokens that I would give him some clothes like mine, at which he seemed very glad, being stark naked, without the least covering whatever. As we passed by the place where the two men had been interred, my man pointed directly to their graves, shewing me the marks that he had made to find them again, giving me to understand, by signs, that we should dig them up, and devour them. At this I appeared extremely displeased, expressed my utmost abhorrence, as if I would vomit at the apprehensions of it, beckoning with my hand to come away, which he did with the greatest reverence and submission. After this I conducted him to the top of the hill, to view if the rest of the savages were yet remaining there; but when I looked through my perspective glass, I could see no appearance of them, nor of their canoes; so that it was very evident they never minded their deceased companions whom we had slain; which if they had, they would surely have searched for, or left one

boat behind for them to follow, after they returned from their pursuit.

Curiosity, and a desire of satisfaction, animating me with courage to see this scene of barbarity, I took my man Friday with me, putting a sword into his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I perceived he could use very dextrously, causing him to carry one gun for me, and I two for myself; and thus equipped against all attacks, away we marched directly to the place of their bloody entertainment. But when I came there, I was struck with the utmost horror at so dreadful a spectacle, whilst Friday was no way concerned about it, being no doubt in his turn one of these devourers. Here lay several human bones, there several pieces of mangled flesh, half eaten, mangled and scorched, whilst streams of blood ran promiscuously as waters from a fountain. As I was musing on this dreadful sight, Friday took all the pains he could, by particular signs, to make me understand, that they had brought over four prisoners to feast upon, three of whom they had eaten up, and that he was the fourth, pointing to himself: that there having been a bloody battle between them and his great king, in the just defence of whom he was taken prisoner, with many others; all of these were carried off to different places, to be devoured by their conquerors; and that it was his misfortune to be brought hither by these wretches for the same purpose.

After I was made sensible of these things, I caused Friday to gather those horrid remains, and lay them

together upon a heap, which I ordered to be set on fire, and burnt them to ashes : my man, however, still retained the nature of a cannibal, having a hankering stomach after some of the flesh : but such an extreme abhorrence did I express at the least appearance of it, that he durst not but conceal it : for I made him very sensible, that if he offered any such thing, I would certainly shoot him.

This being done, I carried my man with me to my castle, and gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had taken out of the poor gunner's chest before mentioned : and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well : in the next place, I made him a jerkin of goat-skin, such as my skill was able to manage, and indeed I thought myself then a tolerable good tailor. I gave him also a cap, which I made of a hare's skin, very convenient and fashionable. Thus being clothed tolerably well, my man was no less proud of his habit, than I was in seeing him in it. Indeed he went very awkwardly at first, the drawers being too heavy on his thighs, not used to bear any weight, and the sleeves of the waistcoat galled his shoulders, and the inside of his arms ; but by a little easing where he complained they hurt him, and by using himself to them, at length he took to them very well.

My next concern was, where I should lodge him : and that I might do well by him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I erected a tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and the outside of the first : and as there was

an entrance or door into my cave , I made a formal frame door-case , and a door to open on the inside ; I barred it up in the night time , taking in my ladders too , so that , was my man to prove treacherous , there could be no way to come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over , that it must needs waken me ; for my first wall had now a complete roof over it of long poles , spreading over my tent , and leaning up to the side of the mountain , which was again laid cross with smaller sticks instead of laths , and thatched over a great thickness with the rice straw , which was as strong as reeds ; and at the hole of the place , left on purpose to go in or out by the ladder , I had placed a kind of a trap-door , which , if it had been attempted on the outside , would not have opened at all , but have fallen down , and made a great noise ; and as to my weapons , every night I took them all to my bed side.

But there was no occasion for this precaution ; for surely never master had a more sincere , faithful , and loving servant than Friday proved to me. Without passion , sullenness , or design , perfectly obliging and engaging , his affections were as much tied to me , as those of a child to his parents ; and I might venture to say , he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine , upon any occasion whatsoever. And indeed the many testimonies he gave me of this , sufficiently convinced me that I had no occasion to use these precautions. And here I could not but reflect , with great wonder , that however it hath pleased the Almighty in his providence , and in the government of the

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the creation, to take from so great a part of the world of his creatures, the noblest uses to which their faculties, and the powers of their souls are adapted ; yet that he has bestowed upon them the same reason, affections, sentiments of kindness, and obligation, passions of resentment, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing and receiving good that he has given us ; and that when he is graciously pleased to offer them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the proper uses for which they were bestowed, than we often are. These thoughts would make me melancholy, especially when I considered how mean a use we make of all these, even though we have these powers enlightened by the Holy Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his word, as an addition to our understanding; and why it has pleased the heavenly wisdom to conceal the like saving knowledge from so many millions of souls, who would certainly make a much better use of it than generally mankind do at this time. These reflections would sometimes lead me so far, as to invade the sovereignty of Providence, and, as it were, arraign the justice of such an arbitrary disposition of things, that should obscure that light from some, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from all. But I closed it up, checking my thoughts with this conclusion ; *first*, That we were ignorant of that right and law by which these should be condemned ; but that as the almighty was necessarily, and by the nature of his essence, infinitely just and holy ; so it could not be otherwise, but that if

these creatures were all destined to absence from himself, it was on account of sinning against that light, which, as the scripture says, was a law to themselves, and by such rules as their consciences would acknowledge to be just, though the first foundation was not discovered to us. And, *secondly*, that still as we were the clay in the hand of the potter, no vessel could thus say to him, Why hast thou fashioned me after this manner?

I had not been above two or three days returned to my castle, but my chief design was, how I should bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding; and, to take from him that inhuman relish he by nature had been accustomed to, I thought it my duty to let him taste other flesh, which might the rather tempt him to the same abhorrence I so often expressed against their accursed way of living. Upon which, one morning I took him out with me, with an intention to kill a kid out of the flock, and bring it home, and dress it. As I was going, I perceived a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her. Immediately I caught hold of my man Friday, and bidding him stand still, and not stir, I presented my piece, and shot one of the kids. My poor servant, who had at distance perceived me kill his adversary, and yet did not know by what means, or how it was done, stood trembling and surprised, and looked so amazed, that I thought he would have sunk into the earth. He did not see the kid I aimed at, or behold I had killed it, but ripped up his waistcoat to see if he was not wounded, thinking my resolution was to kill

him; for coming to me, he fell on his knees, earnestly pronouncing many things which I did not understand the meaning of; which at length I perceived was, that I would not take away his life.

Indeed I was much concerned to see him in that condition, where nature is upon the severest trial, when the immediate hand of death is ready to put for ever a period to this mortal life: and indeed so much compassion had I to this creature, that it was with difficulty I refrained from tears. But, however, as another sort of countenance was necessary, and to convince him that I would do him no harm, I took him, smiling, by the hand, then laughed at him, and pointing to the kid which I had slain, made signs to him to fetch it, which accordingly he did. No less curious was he in viewing how the creature was killed, than he had been before in beholding the Indian; which, while he was admiring at, I charged my gun again, and presently perceived a great fowl like a hawk, perching upon a tree within shot; and, therefore, to let Friday understand what I was going to do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which I found to be a parrot. I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fired, and bade him look, when immediately he saw the parrot fall down. Again he stood like one amazed, notwithstanding all I had said to him; and the more confounded he was, because he did not perceive me put any thing into my gun. Undoubtedly a thing so utterly strange, carrying death along with it, far or near, either to man or beast, must certainly create the greater astonishment to one who

never had heard of such a thing in his whole life: and really his amazement continued so long, that had I allowed it, he would have prostrated himself before me and my gun, with the greatest worship and adoration. As for the gun in particular, he would not so much as suffer his fingers to touch it for several days after; but would come and communicate his thoughts to it, and talk to it, as if the senseless piece had understood and answered him: all this I could perceive him do, when he thought my back was turned, the chief intent of which was, to desire it not to kill him, as I afterwards came to understand.

I never strove to prevent his admiration, nor hinder him from those comical gestures he used on such occasions; but when his astonishment was a little over, I made tokens to him to run and fetch the parrot that I had shot; which he accordingly did, staying some time longer than usual, by reason the bird, not being quite dead, had fluttered some way farther from the place where she fell. In the mean time, as he was looking for her, I took the advantage of charging my gun again, that so I might be ready for any other mark that offered; but nothing more occurred at that time. So I brought home the kid, and the same evening took off the skin, and divided the carcass as well as I could. Part of this flesh I stewed and boiled, in a pot I had for this purpose. And then spreading my table, I sat down, giving my man some of it to eat, who was wonderfully pleased, and seemed to like it very well; but what was most surprising to him was to see me eat salt with it: upon which he

made me to understand, that the salt was very bad for me : when putting a little into his mouth, he seemed to nauseate it in such a manner, as to spit and sputter at it, and then washed his mouth with fresh water : but to shew him how contrary his opinion was to mine, I put some meat into my mouth without salt, and feigned to spit and sputter as much for the want of it, as he had done at it : yet all this proved of no signification to Friday ; and it was a long while before he could endure salt in his meat or broth, and even then but a very small quantity.

Thus, having fed him sufficiently with boiled meat and broth at that time, the next day I was resolved to feast him with a roasted piece of the kid. And having no spit to fasten it, nor jack to turn it, I made use of that common artifice which many of the people of England have, that is, to set two poles upon each side of the fire, and one cross on the top, hanging the meat thereon with a string, and so turning round continually, roast it in the same manner as we read bloody tyrants of old cruelly roasted the holy martyrs. This practice caused great admiration in my man Friday, being quite another way than that to which the savages were accustomed. But when he came to taste the sweetness and tenderness of the flesh, he expressed his entire satisfaction above a thousand different ways. And as I could not but understand his meaning, you may be sure I was as wonderfully pleased, especially when he made it also very plain to me, that he would never, while he lived, eat man's flesh more.

It is now high time I should set my servant to work; so, next day, I put him to beat out some corn, and sift it in the same manner as I had done before. And really the fellow was very quick and handy in the execution of any thing I ordered him to go about. I made him understand that it was to make bread for us to eat, and afterwards let him see me bake it. In short, he did every thing as I ordered him, in a little time, as well as I could perform it myself.

But now considering that I had two mouths to feed instead of one, it was necessary that I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I commonly used to do; upon which I marked out a larger piece of land, fencing it in, in the same manner as I had done before; in the execution of which I must give Friday this good word, that no man could work more hardy, or with better will than he did: and when I made him sensible that it was for bread to serve him as well as me, he then very passionately made me understand, that he thought I had much more labour on his account, than I had for myself; and that no pains or diligence should be wanting in him, if I would but direct him in those works wherein he might proceed.

I must certainly own, that this was the most pleasant year I ever had in the island; for, after some time, Friday began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of those things which I was wont to call for, and the places where I used to send him. So that my long silent tongue, which had been useless so many years, except in an exclamatory manner, either for

deliverance or blessings, now began to be occupied in teaching, and talking to my man Friday; for indeed I had such a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself, so innocent did his simple and unfeigned honesty appear more and more to me every day, that I really began entirely to love him; and for his part, I believe there was no love lost, and that his nature had been more charmed with my exceeding kindness, and his affections more placed upon me, than any other object whatsoever among his own countrymen. I once had a great mind to try if he had any hankering inclination to his own country again: and by this time having learned him English so well, that he could give me tolerable answers to any question which I demanded, I asked him, whether that nation to which he belonged, ever conquered in battle? This question made Friday to smile, and to which he answered *yes, yes, we always fight the better*; as much as to say, they always got the better in fight. Upon which we proceeded on the following discourse: You say, said I, that you always fight the better; why then, Friday, how came you to be taken prisoner?

Friday. But for all that, my nation beat much.

Master. How, say you, beat! if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

Friday. They more many mans than my nation in the place where me was, they take one, two, three and me: my nation much overbeat them in the yonder place where me no was, there my nation mans beat one, two, three great thousand..

Master. Then why did not your men recover you from the hands of your enemies?

Friday. They run one, two, or three, and me; they make all go in the canoo; my nation have no canoo that time.

Master. 'Tis very well, Friday; but what does your nation do with the prisoners they take? Do they carry them away and eat them as these have done?

Friday. Yes, yes, my nation eat mans too, eat up all.

Master. To what place do they carry them to be devoured?

Friday. Go to other nations where they think.

Master. Do they bring them hither?

Friday. Yes, come over hither, come over other place.

Master. And have you been with them here, Friday.

Friday. Yes, me been here, (*pointing to the north-west of the island, being the side where they used to land*).

Thus having got what account I could from my man I plainly understood, that he had been as bad as any of the rest of the cannibals, having been formerly among the savages who used to come on shore on the farthest part of the island, upon the same bloody occasions as he was brought hither for: and some time after I carried him to that place where he pointed; and no sooner did he come there, but he presently knew the ground, signifying to me that he was once there when they ate up twenty men, two women, and

a young child ; but as he could not explain the number in *English* , he did it by so many stones in a row, making a sign to me to count them.

This passage I have the rather mentioned , because it led to things more important and useful for me to know : for after I had this satisfactory discourse with him, my next question was, how far it was from the island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost in the ocean ? to which he answered, There was no danger ; that no canoes were ever lost ; but that after a little way out to the sea , there was a strong current, and a wind always one way in the afternoon. This I thought at first to be no more than the sets of the tide , of going out or coming in ; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great draught and reflux of the mighty river Oroonoko , in the mouth or gulf of which I imagined my kingdom lay ; and that the land which I perceived to the W. and N. W. must be the great island Trinidad , on the north of the river. A thousand questions (if that would satisfy me) did I ask Friday , about the nature of the country , the sea , the coasts , the inhabitants and what nations were nearest them ; to which questions the poor fellow declared all he knew, with the greatest openness , and utmost sincerity. When I demanded of him the particular names of the various nations of his sort of people , he could only answer me in general , that they were called *Carabe*. Hence it was I considered that these must be the Caribbees , so much taken notice of by our maps , to be on that part of America , which reaches from the mouth of

the river Oroonoko to Guiana, and so on to St Maratha. Then Friday proceeded to tell me, that, up a great way beyond the moon, as much as to say, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be W. from their country, there dwelt white-bearded men, such as I was, pointing to my whiskers, and that they kill *much mans*. I was not ignorant with what barbarity the Spaniards treated these creatures; so that I presently concluded it must be them, whose cruelties had spread throughout America, to be remembered even to succeeding generations.

Well, you may be sure, this knowledge, which the imperfect information of my man had led me to, was very comfortable to me, and made me so curious as to ask him, how I might depart from this island, and get among those white men? He told me, *Yes, yes, I might go in two canoes*. In two canoes; thought I, what does my man mean? Surely he means one for himself, and another for me; and if not, how must two canoes hold me without being joined, or one part of my body being put in one, and another in the other? And, indeed, it was a long while before I understood his meaning, which was, that it must be a large boat, as big as two canoes, able to bear with the waves, and not so liable to be overwhelmed as one must be.

I believe there is no state of life but what may be happy, if people would but endeavour for their part to make it so. He is not the happiest man that has the most riches, but he that is content with what he hath. Before I had my servant, I thought myself

miserable till I had him ; and now that I enjoyed the happy benefits of him , I still complained , and begged a deliverance from a place of retirement , ease , and plenty , where Providence had sufficiently blessed me . In a word , from this time I entertained some hopes , that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this island , and that this poor savage might be a great furtherance thereto .

All the time since my man became so intelligent as to understand and speak to me , I spared no pains nor diligence to instruct him , according to my poor share of knowledge , in the principles of religion , and the adoration that he ought to pay to the *True God* . One time , as I very well remember , I asked him who made him ? At first the innocent creature did not understand what I meant , but rather thought I asked him who was his father ? Upon which I took another way to make him sensible , by demanding from him an answer to this question . Friday , said I , who is it that made the sea , this ground whereon we walk , and all these hills and woods which we behold ? And here , indeed , I did not miss of my intention ; for he told me , it was old *Benamuckee* (the God whom I supposed these savages adored) who lived a great way beyond all . But as for his attributes , poor Friday was an utter stranger . He could describe nothing of this great person ; and all that he could say was , that he was very old , much older than the sea and land , the moon , or the stars . Friday , (said I again) , if this great and old person has made all things in the world , how comes it to pass , that all things , as you in par-

which the directions of God's Holy Spirit assisted me. I lifted up my hands to heaven, and pointing thereto, told him, that the great Maker of heaven and earth lived there: that as his infinite power fashioned this world out of a confused chaos, and made it in that beautiful frame which we behold, so he governs and preserves it by his unbounded knowledge, sovereign greatness, and peculiar providence: that he was omnipotent, could do every thing for us, give every thing to us, and take every thing away from us: that he was a rewarder and punisher of good and evil actions: that there was nothing but what he knew, no thoughts so secret but what he could bring to light; and thus, by degrees, I opened his eyes, and described to him the manner of the creation of the world, the situation of paradise, the transgression of our first parents, the wickedness of God's peculiar people, and the universal sins and abominations of the whole earth. When these things were implanted in his mind, I told him, that as God's justice was equal to his mercy, he resolved to destroy this world, till his Son Jesus Christ interposed in our behalf; and, to procure our redemption, obtained leave of his heavenly father to come down from heaven into the world, where he took human nature upon him, instructed us in our way to eternal life, and died as a sacrifice for our sins; that he was now ascended into heaven, mediating for our pardon, delivering our petitions, and obtaining all those good benefits which we ask in his name, by humble and hearty prayers, all which were heard at the throne of heaven. As very frequently I used to inculcate things

into his mind , Friday one day told me , that if our great God could hear us beyond the sun, he must surely be a greater God than their *Benamuckee*, who lived but a little way off , and yet could not hear them till they ascended the great mountains where he dwelt, to speak to him. What , said I , Friday , did you go thither to speak to him too ? He answered, No, they never went that were young men, none but old men called their *Oowakakee*, meaning the Indian priests , who went to say O, (so he called saying their prayers), and they returned back , and told them what *Benamuckee* said. From hence , I could not but observe how happy we Christians are, who have God's immediate revelation for our certain guide; and that our faith is neither misled, nor our reason imposed upon, by any set of men , such as these Indian impostors.

But , to clear up this palpable cheat to my man Friday , I told him , that the pretence of their ancient men going up to the mountain to say O to their God *Benamuckee* was an imposture , and that their bringing back an answer was a sham , if not worse ; for that, if there was any such thing spoken to them, surely it must proceed from an infernal spirit. And here I thought it necessary to enter into a long discourse with him , which I did after this manner.

Friday, (said I) , you must know , that before this world was made, there was an Almighty Power existing, by whose power all things were made, and whose Majesty shall have no end. To be glorified and adored by beings of a heavenly nature, he created angels and arch-angels , that is , glorious spirits resembling

himself, to encompass his throne, eternally singing forth his praise in the most heavenly sounds and divine harmony. And, among this heavenly choir, Lucifer bore a great sway, as being then one of the peculiar favourites of these celestial abodes; but he, contrary to that duty he owed his heavenly Sovereign, with unbounded ingratitude to his divine Creator, not only envied him that adoration which was his due, but thought to usurp that throne which he had neither power to keep, nor title to pretend to. He raised a dissension and civil war in heaven, and had a number of angels to take his part. Unbounded folly! stupendous pride! thus to hope for victory, and aspire above his powerful Creator! The Deity, not fearful of such an enemy; yet justly provoked at this rebellion, commissions his arch-angel Michael to lead forth the heavenly host, and give him battle; the advantage of which was quickly perceived, by Satan's being overthrown, and the prince of the air, (for so the devil was called) with all his fallen angels, driven headlong into a dismal place, which is called *Hell*.

The recital of this truth made my man give the greatest attention, and he expressed a great satisfaction by his gestures, that God had sent the devil into the deep hole. And then I desired him to give great heed to what I had further to say.

No sooner (proceeded I) was God freed from, and the heavens clear of this arch-traitor, but the Father speaks to the Son and Holy Spirit, who belonged to his essence, and were equal to him in power and glory; *Come let us make man, (said he) in our own image, after*

our own likeness, Gen. i. 26. to have dominion over the creatures of the world which we have created. And these he intended should glorify him in heaven, according to their obedience in this state of probation on earth, which was, as it were, to be the school to train them up for these heavenly mansions. Now, Satan seeing him foiled; yet, that God had not taken the power from him as prince of the air, which power Heaven designed he should retain, whereby his creatures might be tried; in revenge for the disgrace he had received, he tempts Adam's wife, Eve, to taste of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which God had forbidden. He appears to her in the shape of a serpent, then a most beautiful creature, and tells her, that it was no better than an imposition which God had put upon her and her husband, not to eat of that fair fruit which he had created; that the taste thereof would make them immortal like God himself; and consequently as great and powerful as he. Upon which she not only eat thereof herself, but made her husband eat also, which brought them both under the heavenly displeasure.

Here Friady expressed a great concern; *Ah, poor mans! (cried he) naughty womans! naughty devil! make God not love de mans, make mans like devil himself.*

Friday, said I, God still loved mankind; and tho' the devil tempted human nature so far, he would not suffer him to have an absolute power over them. I have told you before of his tender love to his people, till they, like Lucifer, disobeyed his commands and

rebelled against him; and even then, how Jesus Christ, his only Son, came to save sinners. But still every man that lives in the world is under temptation and trial. The devil has yet a power, as prince of the air, to suggest evil cogitations into our minds, and prompt us on to wicked actions, that he might glory in our destruction. Whatever evil thoughts we have proceed from him; so that God, in this our distress, expects we should apply ourselves to him by fervent prayer for speedy redress. He is not like *Benamuckee*, to let none come near him but *Oowakakee*, but suffers the people as well as priests to offer themselves at his feet, thereby to be delivered from the power and temptation of the devil.

But though at first my man *Friday* expressed some concern at the wickedness of *Lucifer*, I found it not so easy to imprint the right notions of him in his mind, as it was about the divine essence of God: for there nature assisted me in all my arguments, to shew to him plainly the necessity of a great first cause, and over-ruling governing power, of a secret directing Providence, and of the equity and reasonableness of paying adoration to our Creator; whereas there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil spirit, of his first beginning, his nature, and, above all, of his inclination to evil actions, and his power to tempt us to the like. And indeed this unlearned *Indian*, by the mere force of nature, puzzled me with one particular question, more than ever I could have expected.

I had, it seems, one day, been talking to him of

the omnipotent power of God, and his infinite abhorrence of sin, insomuch that the scriptures styled him *a consuming fire* to all the workers of iniquity; and that it was in his power, whenever he pleased, to destroy all the world in a moment, the greater part of which are continually offending him.

When, with a serious attention, he had listened a great while to what I said, after I had been telling him how the devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and used all his malice and skill to defeat the good designs of Providence, and destroy the kingdom of Christ in the world, and so forth: Very well, master, said Friday, you say God is so strong, so great, is he not much strong, much mightier than the naughty devil? To be sure, *Friday*, said I, God is more wise, and stronger than the serpent: he is above the devil, which makes us pray to him, that he would tread down *Satan* under our feet, enable us to resist his violent temptations, and quench his fiery darts. *Why then*, answered Friday quickly, *if God, as you say, has much strong, much might as the devil, why God no kill devil, make no more tempt, no more do wicked.*

You may be certain, I was strangely surprised at this question of my man's; and, though an old man, I was but a young doctor, and consequently very ill qualified for a casuist, or a resolver of intricate doubts in religion. And, as it required some time for me to study for an answer, I pretended not to hear him, nor to ask him what he said: But, so earnest was he for an answer, as not to forget his question; which he repeated in the very same broken words as above.

When I had recovered myself a little, *Friday*, said I, *God will at last punish him severely, being reserved for judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit, to remain in fire everlasting. But all this did not satisfy Friday; for, returning upon me, he repeated my words, RESERVE AT LAST, me no understand; but, why not kill devil now, not kill devil, great, great while ago? Friday, said I, you may as well ask me why God does not kill you and me, when, by our wicked actions, we so much offend his Divine Majesty? He gives us time to repent of our sins, that thereby we may obtain pardon. At these words, obtain pardon, Friday mused a great while; and, at last, looking me stedfastly in the face, Well, well, said he, that's very well; so you, I, devil, all wicked mans, all preserve, repent, God pardon all.*

Indeed, here I was run down to the last extremity, when it became very evident to me, how mere natural notions will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a Deity, and to the homage due to the supreme being of God; but, however, nothing but divine revelation can form the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of a redemption purchased for us, of the Mediator of the new covenant, and of an intercessor at the footstool of God's throne; and, therefore, the gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; that is, the Word and Spirit of God, promised for the guide and sanctifier of his people, are the most necessary instructors of the souls of men, in the saving knowledge of the Almighty, and the means to attain eternal happiness.

And now I found it necessary to put an end to this discourse between my man and me; for which purpose I rose up hastily, and made as if I had some occasion to go out, sending *Friday* for something that was a good way off. I then fell on my knees, and beseeched God that he would inspire me so far as to guide this poor savage in the knowledge of Christ, to answer his questions more clearly, that his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved. When he returned again, I entered into a very long discourse with him, upon the subject of the world's redemption by the Saviour of it, and the doctrine of repentance preached from heaven, together with an holy faith in our blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ: and then I proceeded to explain to him, according to my weak capacity, the reason why our Saviour took not on him the nature of angels, but rather the seed of *Abraham*; and how the fallen angels had no benefit by that redemption; and, lastly, that he came only to the lost sheep of the house of *Israel*; and the like. God knows I had more sincerity than knowledge in all the ways I took for this poor *Indian's* instruction; and, I must acknowledge, what I believe every body that acts upon the same principle will find, that in laying heavenly truths open before him, I informed and instructed myself in many things, that either I did not know, or had not perfectly considered before; so that, however this poor creature might be improved by my instruction, certain it is, that I myself had great reason to be thankful to Providence for sending him to me. His company allayed

my grief, and made my habitation comfortable; and, when I reflected, that the solitary life to which I had been so long confined, had made me to look further towards heaven, by making me the instrument, under Providence, to save the life, and for aught I know, the soul of this poor savage, by bringing him to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, it caused a secret joy to spread through every part of my soul; and I frequently rejoiced, that ever I was brought to this place, which I once thought the most miserable part of the world.

In this thankful frame of mind did I afterwards continue, while I abode on the island, and for three years did my man and I live in the greatest enjoyment of happiness. Indeed, I believe the savage was as good a Christian as I; and I hope we were equally penitent; and such penitents as were comforted and restored by God's Holy Spirit; for now we had the word of the Lord to instruct us in the right way, as much as if we had been on the English shore.

By the constant application I made of the Scriptures, as I read them to my man Friday, I earnestly endeavoured to make him understand every part of it, as much as lay in my power. He also, on the other hand, by his very serious questions and inquiries, made me a much better proficient in scripture knowledge, than I should have been by my own private reading and study. I must not omit another thing, proceeding from the experience I had in my retirement: It was that infinite and inexpressible blessing, the knowledge of God through Jesus Christ, which

was so plain and easy to be understood, as immediately to direct me to carry on the great work of sincere repentance for my sins, and laying hold of a Saviour for eternal life, to a practical stated reformation, and obedience to all God's institutions, without the assistance of a reverend and orthodox divine; and especially by this same instruction, so to enlighten this savage creature, as to make him so good a Christian, as very few could exceed him. And there was only this great thing wanting, that I had no authority to administer the holy sacrament, that heavenly participation of Christ's body and blood; yet, however, we rested ourselves content, that God would accept our desires, and according to our faith, have mercy on us.

But what we wanted one way, was made up in another, and that was universal peace in our little church. We had no disputes and wranglings about the nature and equality of the holy, blessed, and undivided Trinity; no niceties in doctrine, or schemes of church government; no sour and morose dissenters to impose more sublimated notions upon us; no pedant sophisters to confound us with unintelligible mysteries: but, instead of all this, we enjoyed the most certain guide to heaven; that is, the word of God; besides which, we had the comfortable views of his Spirit leading us to the truth, and making us both willing and obedient to the instruction of his word. As the knowledge and practice of this are the principal means of salvation, I cannot see what it avails any Christian Church, or man, in the world, to amuse himself with speculations and opinions, ex-

cept it be to display their particular vanity and affectation.

You may well suppose, that, by the frequent discourse we had together, my man and me became most intimately acquainted, and that there was but very little that I could say, but what Friday understood; and, indeed, he spoke very fluently, though it was but broken English. I now took a particular pleasure in relating all my adventures, especially those that occurred since my being cast on this island. I made him understand that wonderful mystery, as he conceived, of gun powder and bullet, and taught him how to shoot. I also presented to him a knife, which pleased him exceedingly, making him a belt, with a frog hanging thereto, like those in which we wear hangers in England; and, instead of a hanger to put in the frog, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only a good, but even a better weapon upon many occasions. In a word, my man thus accoutred, looked upon himself as great as Don Quixote, when that celebrated champion went to combat the windmill.

I next gave him a very particular description of the territories of Europe, and in a particular manner of Old England, the place of my nativity. I laid before him the manner of our worshipping God, our behaviour one to another, and how we trade in ships to every part of the universe. I then told him my misfortunes in being shipwrecked, showing him, as near as I could, the place where the ship lay, which had been gone long before; but I brought him to the ruins of my boat, which before my whole strength.

could not move, but now was almost rotten, and fallen to pieces. I observed my man Friday to view this boat with an uncommon curiosity; which, when he had done, he stood pondering a great while, and said nothing. At last, said I, Friday, what makes you ponder so much? He replied, *O master, me see like boat come to place at my nation.*

It was some time, indeed, before I understood what my man meant; but examining strictly into it, I plainly found that such another boat, resembling mine, had come upon the country where he dwelt; that is to say, by his farther explanation, that the boat was driven there through violent storms and stresses of weather. It then came into my mind, that some European ship having been cast away, the poor distressed creatures were forced to have recourse to the boat to save their lives; and being all, as I thought, drowned, I never concerned myself to ask any thing concerning them, but my only inquiry was about the boat, and what description my man could give of it.

Indeed Friday answered my demands very well, making every thing very plain to my understanding; but beyond measure was I satisfied, when he told me, with great warmth and ardour, *O master, we save white mans from drown; upon which I immediately asked him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat: Yes, yes, said he, the boat full, very full of white mans. How many, Friday? said I. Hereupon he numbered his fingers, and counted seventeen. And when I asked him what became of them all, and whether they lived or not? he replied,*
Yes,

Yes, master, they all live, they be live among my nation. This information put fresh thoughts into my head, that these must be those very men who before I concluded had been swallowed up in the ocean, after they had left their ship, that had struck upon the rocks of my kingdom, and after escaping the fury of the deep, landed upon the wild shore, and committed themselves to the fury of the devouring Indians.

The manner of their cruelties to one another, which consequently, as I thought, must be acted with greater barbarity to strangers, created in me a great anxiety, and made me still more curious to ask Friday concerning them. He told me he was sure they still lived there, having resided among them above four years, and that the savages gave them victuals to live upon. But pray, Friday, said I, whence proceeded all this good nature and generosity? How came it to pass that they did not kill and eat them, to please their devouring appetites; and occasion so splendid an entertainment among them? *No, no*, said Friday, *they not kill 'em, they make brother with 'em*; by which I understood there was a truce between them. And then I had a more favourable opinion of the Indians, upon Friday's uttering these words: *My nation, t' other nation no eat mans, but when mans make war fight*; as though he had said, that neither those of his kingdom, nor any other nations that he knew of, ever ate their fellow-creatures, but such as their law of arms allowed to be devoured; that is, those miserable captives, whose misfortune it should be to be made prisoners of war.

Some considerable time after, upon a very pleasant

day, in most serene weather, my man and I stood up on the top of a hill, on the east side of the island; whence I had once before beheld the continent of America. I could not tell immediately what was the matter; for suddenly Friday fell a jumping and dancing as if he had been mad; and upon my demanding the reason of his behaviour, *O joy, said he, O glad, there see my country, there my nation, there live white mans gether.* And indeed such a rapturous sense of pleasure appeared in his countenance, that his eyes had an uncommon sparkling and brightness, and such a strange eagerness, as if he had a longing desire to be in his own country again. This made me not so well satisfied with my man Friday as before; for by this appearance, I made no dispute, but that if he could get back thither again, he would not only be unmindful of what religion I had taught him, but likewise of the great obligation he owed me for his wonderful deliverance: nay, that he would not only inform his countrymen of me, but accompany hundreds of them to my kingdom, and make me a miserable sacrifice like those unhappy wretches taken in battle.

Indeed I was very much to blame to have these cruel and unjust suspicions, and must freely own I wronged the poor creature very much, who was of a quite contrary temper. And had he had that discerning acuteness which many Europeans have, he would certainly have perceived my coldness and indifference, and also have been very much concerned upon that account; as I was now more circumspect, I had

much lessened my kindness and familiarity with him, and while this jealousy continued, I used that artful way (now too much in fashion, the occasion of strife and dissention) of pumping him daily, thereby to discover whether he was deceitful in his thoughts and inclinations: but certainly he had nothing in him but what was consistent with the best principles, both as a religious Christian and a grateful friend; and, indeed, I found every thing he said was so ingenuous and innocent, that I had no room for suspicion, and, in spite of all uneasiness, he not only made me entirely his own again, but also caused me much to lament that I ever conceived one ill thought of him.

As we were walking up the same hill another day, when the weather was so hazy at sea, that I could not perceive the continent, Friday, said I, don't you wish yourself to be in your own country, your own nation, among your old friends and acquaintances? *Yes*, said he, *me much O glad to be at my own nation.* And what would you do there, Friday? Would you turn wild again, eat mans flesh, and be a savage as you were formerly? *No, no*, (answered he, full of concern, and shaking his head), *Friday now tell them to live good, tell them pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle flesh, milk, no eat man again.* But surely, replied I, if you should offer to do all this, they will kill you; and to manifest their contempt of such instruction, eat you up when they have done. He then put on a grave, yet innocent and smooth countenance, saying, *No, they no kill me, they willing love learn: that is, that they would be very willing to*

learn : adding withal , *that they had learned much of the bearded mans that come in the boat.* Will you , said I , go back again , Friday ? He smiled at that , and told me , that he could not swim so far. But , said I , I will make a canoe for you : *Yes , master ,* said he , *me go if you go , me no go if you stay.* I go , Friday ! why , would you have them eat me up , and devour your kind master ? *No , no ,* said he , *me make them not eat master , me make they much love you ;* that is , he would tell them how I had slain his enemies , and thereby saved his life , for which reason he would make them love me : and then he related to me , as well as he was able , how exceeding kind those of his nation were to the white , or bearded men , as he called them , who , in their great calamity , were driven into their country.

It was from this time , indeed , I had strong inclinations to venture over , and use my utmost efforts , if possible , to join these white bearded men , who undoubtedly were Spaniards or Portuguese ; for , thought I , it must be certainly a better and safer way to escape when there is a good company , than for me alone , from an island forty miles off the shore , and without any assistance. Some days after , Friday and I being at work , as usual , at the same time diverting ourselves with various discourses , I told him I had a boat which I would bestow upon him , whenever he pleased to return to his own nation : and to convince him of the truth of what I said , I took him with me to the other side of the island , where my frigate lay , and then taking it from under the water , (for I always kept it

funk for fear of a discovery) we both went into it to see how it would manage such an expedition.

And really never could any be more dexterous in rowing than my faithful servant, making the boat go as fast again as I could. Well, now, Friday, said I, shall we now go to your so much desired nation? But instead of meeting with that cheerfulness I expected, he looked very dull and melancholy at my saying so; which indeed at first surpris'd me, till he made me sensible, that his concern was about the boat's being too small to go so far a voyage. Upon which I let him understand I had a much bigger; and, accordingly, the next day went to the place where the first boat lay, which I had made, when all the strength I had, or art I could use, fail'd me in my attempt to get it into the water; but now it having lain in the sun two and twenty years, and no care being taken of it all that while, it became in a manner rotten. My man told me, that such a boat would do very well to the purpose, sufficient to carry *enough vittles, dring, bread*, for that was his manner of talking. In short, my mind being strongly fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, I very plainly told him, that we would both go and make a boat full as big, and more proportionable than that, wherein he might safely return to his own nation.

These words made Friday look so very pensive, that I thought he would have fallen at my feet. It was some time before he could speak a word, which made me ask him, what was the matter with him? He replied, in a very soft and moving tone, *What has*

poor Friday done? why are you angry mad with poor servant? what me done, O what me done? Friday, said I, you never yet have offended me: what makes you think I am angry with you, when I am not angry at all? *You no angry, no angry*, said he several times; *if you be no angry, why den send Friday over great water to my own nation?* Why, surely, Friday, answered I, did you not wish to be there, when, from a mountain, you beheld the place where you was born? and is it not to satisfy your desires that I am willing to give you leave to return thither? *Yes, yes, said Friday, me wish be there sure enough, but me den wish master there too: no wish Friday there, no master there.* In short, he could not endure the thoughts of going there without me. I go there, Friday, said I, what shall I do there? — He answered very quickly, *O master, you do great deal much good, you teach all de wild mans to be good tame mans: you learn dem to be sober, live good life, to know God, and pray God.* Alas! poor Friday, said I, what can I do against their priests of Benamuckee, or indeed what good can I make your nation sensible of, when I myself am but a poor ignorant man? *No, no, master, said he, you be no ignorant, you teachee me good, you teachee dem good.* You shall go without me, Friday, said I, for I don't care to accompany you thither; I would rather live in this solitude than venture among such inhuman savages. Go your way, since you desire it, and leave me alone by myself, as I was before I saved your life.

Never was any creature more thunder-struck than Friday was at these words. *Go me away, leave master*

away, said he, after a long silence, *no, no, Friday die, Friday live not, master gone*, as though he had said, I neither can nor will live, if my master sends me from him. And here I cannot but take notice of the strong ties of friendship, which many times surpass those of consanguinity: For often we find a great disagreement among kindred; and, when there is any seeming regard for each other, it is very seldom true, and scarce ever lasting, if powerful interest does not bear the sway; and that alone is often the occasion of the greatest hatred in the world, which is to desire the death of parents and relations, for the sake of acquiring their fortunes. But there was no such thing between my servant and me: instead of which there was the greatest gratitude, and the most sincere love; he found me not only his deliverer, but his preserver and comforter; not a severe and cruel tyrant, but a kind, loving, and affable friend. He wanted for no manner of sustenance; and, when he was ill, or out of order, I was his physician, not only for his body, but his soul; and therefore no wonder was it, that such an innocent creature, long since divested of his former natural cruelty, should have an uncommon concern at so cruel a separation from me, which pierced him to the very soul, and made him desire even to die, rather than live without me.

After I had told *Friday*, in a very careless manner, that he should be at his liberty as soon as the boat was made, the language of his eyes expressed all imaginable confusion; when immediately running to one of his hatchets, which he used to wear as a defensive

weapon, he gives it into my hand, with a heart so full, that he could scarcely speak. *Friday*, said I, what is it you mean? What must I do with this? *Only kill Friday*, said he, *Friday care not live long*. But what must I kill you for? replied I again. *Ah! dear master, what made you Friday save from eat a me up, so keep long Friday, make Friday love God, and not love Benamuckee, and now Friday send away, never see Friday more*. As though the poor creature had said, Alas, my dearest kind master, how comes it to pass, that, after having ventured your precious life to save me from the jaws of devouring cannibals like myself, after such a tender regard to provide for me such a comfortable nourishment, and continuing so long a kind master, and a most sincere friend; and after making me forsake the false notion of an Indian deity, and worship the true God in spirit and in truth: after all this, how comes it now, that you are willing to send me away to my former course of living, by which means undoubtedly we shall be dead to each other; but greater must be my misfortune; that I shall never behold my best friend I have in the world any more. And this undoubtedly, though he could not express himself so clearly, must be his sentiments; for the tears ran down his cheeks in such a plentiful manner, that I had much ado to refrain from weeping also, when I beheld the poor creature's affection; so that I was forced to comfort him in the best manner I could, which I did, by telling him, if he was content to abide with me, I should be ever willing to keep him.

After Friday's grief was something abated, more fully to convince me of his affection, he said, *O master, me not care to be in my nation, leave you here: me desire nation learn good, that's all*; meaning, that his desire was for the conversion of that barbarous people. But as I had no apostolic mission, nor any concern about their salvation; so I had not the least intention or desire of undertaking it: and the strength of my inclination, in order to escape, proceeded chiefly from my late discourse with Friday, about these seventeen white bearded men, that had been driven upon the barbarian coast, whom I designed to join, as the only means to further our escape. To which intent my man and I went to search for a proper tree to fell, whereof we might make a large periagua or canoe, to undertake the voyage: and, indeed, we were not long in finding one fit for our purpose, there being enough of wood in the island to have built a fleet of large vessels, but the thing we principally wanted was, to get one so near the water, that we might launch it after it was finished, and not commit so horrid a mistake as I had done once before.

Well, after a great search for what was best and most convenient, Friday at last, whose judgment in such affairs was much superior to mine, pitches upon a kind of wood the most fitting for it. To this day I cannot tell the name of the tree, nor describe it any other way, than only by saying, that it is very like what we call *fustic*, or betwixt that and the Nicaragua wood, being much of the same colour and smell. But though my man exceeded me in the

knowledge of the most proper tree, yet I shewed him a much better and cleaner way to make a canoe than ever he knew before : for he was for burning the hollow or cavity of the tree , in order to make this boat ; but I then told him how we might do it with tools , learning him at the same time how to use them , which indeed he did very dexterously ; so that in a month's labour we finished it , making it very handsome , by cutting the outside into the true shape of a boat. After this it took us a full fortnight before we could get her into the water , which we did , as it were , inch by inch , upon great rollers : but when she was in , she would have carried twenty men , with all the ease imaginable.

As I was very well pleased , you may be sure , at the launching of this man of war of mine , I was no less amazed to behold with what dexterity my man would manage her , turn her , and paddle her along. Well , Friday , said I , what do you think of it now ? Do you think this will carry us over ? *Yes , master , said he , we venture over well , though great blow wind.* But my design was yet farther , which he was insensible of ; and that was to make a mast and sail , and to provide her with an anchor and cable. As to a mast , that was no difficult thing at all to procure ; so I fixed upon a straight young cedar-tree , which I found near the place , great plenty of it abounding in the island ; and setting Friday to cut it down , I gave him particular directions how to shape and order it ; but as to the sail , that I managed myself. I very well knew I had some old ones , or pieces of sails enough , which

had lain six and twenty years by me ; but not being careful to preserve them , as thinking I should have no occasion to use them any more , when I came to look them over , I found them almost all rotten , except two ; and with these I went to work , and after a great deal of pains and awkward tedious stitching for want of needles, at length I finished a three-cornered ugly thing like what we call in England a shoulder of mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little small sprit at the top , like those which our longboats use, and which I very well knew how to manage ; especially since it was like that which I had in my patron's fishing boat, when, with my boy Xury, I made my escape from the Barbarian shore.

It was near two months, I think, before I completed this work , that is , the rigging , and fitting my mast and sails ; and indeed they were nicely done having made a small stay, and a sail, or foresail to it, to assist, if we should turn to the westward ; and , which was still more, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her , to steer with ; and though I was but a very indifferent shipwright , yet , as I was sensible of the great usefulness and absolute necessity of a thing like this , I applied myself to it with such a constant application , that at last I accomplished my design ; but what with the many dull contrivances I had about it, and the failure of many things, it cost me as much pains, in ordering as in making the boat. Besides , when all this was done, I had my man to teach what belonged to its navigation: for though he very well understood how to paddle a canoe along , he was an utter stran-

ger to a sail and a rudder, and was amazed when he saw me work the boat to and again in the sea, by them, and how the sail gibbed and filled this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed. After some time, and a little use, I made all these things very familiar to him, so that he became an expert sailor, except in relation to the compass, and that I could make him understand but little of. But, as it happened, there were seldom occasion for it, there being but little cloudy weather, and scarce ever any fog in those parts; the stars were always visible in the night, and the shore perspicuous by day, except in the rainy season, which confined every one to his habitation.

Thus entered in the seven and twentieth year of my reign, or captivity, which you please, (the last three of which, blessed with the company of my man Friday, ought not to be reckoned), I kept the anniversary of my landing here, with the same thankfulness to God, for his tender mercies, as I did before; and certainly, as I had great cause for a thankful acknowledgment for my deliverance at first, I had much greater now, for such singular and additional testimonies of the care of Providence over me, in all my distresses both of body and mind, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and speedily delivered; for I had a strong impression upon my mind, that I should not be another year in this island. But, however, I still continued on with my husbandry, digging, planting, and fencing, as usual; gathering and curing my grapes, and doing all other things that were necessary.

And now the rainy season beginning to come on , obliged me to keep the longer within doors ; but before this , I brought my new vessel into the creek , where I had landed my rafts from the ship , and haling her up to the shore , I ordered my man Friday to dig a dock sufficient to hold her in , and deep enough to give her water , wherein she might float ; and then , when the tide was out , we made a strong dam cross the end of it , to keep out the water ; by which means she lay dry , as to the tide from the sea ; and to keep the rain from her , we thatched her over , as it were , with boughs of trees , like a house ; and so we waited for the months of November and December , in which I designed to venture over the ocean .

No sooner did the seasonable weather begin to draw near , but so much was I elevated with this new designed adventure , than I daily prepared for the voyage . The first thing I thought on was , to lay by a certain quantity of provisions , as a sufficient store for such an expedition , intending in a week or fortnight's time to open the dock , and launch out the boat for that purpose . But one morning as I was very busy upon something necessary for this occasion , I called Friday to me , and bid him go to the sea shore , and see if he could find a turtle or tortoise , a thing which we commonly had once a week , as much upon account of the eggs , as for the sake of the flesh . He had not been long gone , but he came running back , as though he was pursued for life , and as it were flew over my outward wall , or fence , like one that felt not the ground , or steps he set his feet on ; and before I

had time to enquire the reason of his precipitation, he cries out, *O dear master, O sorrow! sorrow! Bad! O bad!* Why, what's the matter, *Friday?* said I, *O, yonder, yonder,* said he, *there be one, two, or three canoes! two, three.* Surely (thought I) there must be six, by my man's way of reckoning; but, on a stricter inquiry, I found there were but three. Well, *Friday,* said I, don't be terrified, I warrant you we will not only defend ourselves against 'em, but kill the most of these cruel savages. But though I comforted him in the best manner I could, the poor creature trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him: *O, Master,* said he, *they come look Friday, cut pieces Friday, cut a me up.* Why, *Friday,* said I, they will eat me up as well as you, and my danger is as great as yours. But since it is so, we must resolve to fight for our lives. What say you? can you fight, *Friday,*? Yes, said he very faintly, *me shoot, me kill what I can, but there come great many number.* That's no matter, said I again, our guns will terrify those that we do not kill: I am very willing to stand by you to the last drop of my blood. Now, tell me, if you will do the like by me, and obey my orders in whatsoever I command? *Friday* then answered, *O master, me lose life for you, me die when you bid die.* Thus concluding all questions concerning his fidelity, immediately I fetched him a good dram of rum, (of which I had been a very good husband), and gave it him to comfort his heart. After he had drank it, I ordered him to take the two fowling pieces, which we always carried, and load them with large swan shot, as big as small pistol bul-

lets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two flugs, and five small bullets each; charging my two pistols each with a brace, I hung my great sword, as customary, naked to my side, and gave Friday his hatchet, as a most excellent weapon for defence.

Thus prepared, I thought as well of myself as any knight errant that ever handled a sword and spear. I took my perspective glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I perceived very soon, by my glass, that there were one and twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes; and that their chief concern seemed to be the triumphant banquet upon the three poor human bodies, a thing which by this time I had observed was very common with them. I also remarked, that they did not land at that place from whence Friday made his escape, but nearer to the creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came very close to the sea. My soul was then filled with indignation and abhorrence at such inhuman wretches, which put a period to all my former thoughts in their vindication; neither would I give myself time to consider their right of conquest, as I had done before; but descending from the mountain, I came down to Friday, and told him, I was resolved to go speedily to them and kill them all; asking him again, in the same breath, if he would stand by me? When by this time being recovered from his fright, and his spirit much cheered with the dram I had given him, he was very pleasant; yet seriously telling me, as he did before, *When I bid die, he would die.*

And now it was, having fixed my resolution in so strong a manner, that nothing could divest my breast of its uncommon fury. I immediately divided the loaded arms betwixt us. To my man Friday I gave a pistol to stick in his girdle, with three guns upon his shoulder, a weight too great I confess to bear; but what must a poor king do, who has but one soldier in the world? But to shew I made him bear no more than what I would lay on myself, I stuck the other pistol in my girdle, and other three guns upon my shoulders; nay something more, but that was like *Æsop's* burden, a small bottle of rum, which was soon lightened to our exceeding refreshment. Thus we marched out, under a ponderous load of armour, like two invincible champions, with a quantity of powder and bullets to stand our battle, and load again, when the pieces were discharged. And now my orders being to be obeyed, I charged Friday to keep close behind me, and not to stir, or shoot, or attempt any thing till I commanded him; and, in the interim, not to speak so much as one word. It was in this order I fetched a compass to the right hand, of near a mile, as well to get over the creek, as to attain the wood; and by this, I thought to come within shot of them before I could be discerned, as I found by my glass, would not be difficult to accomplish.

But how fickle and wavering is the mind of men, even in our greatest fury and strongest inclination! For while I was taking this march, my resolution began to abate, not through fear of their numbers, who were a parcel of naked unarmed wretches, but these

reflections occurred to my thoughts : What power was I commissioned with , or what occasion or necessity had I to go and imbrue my hands in human blood , and murder people that had neither done nor intended to do me any wrong ? They were innocent in particular as to me ; and their barbarous custom was not only their misfortune , but a sign that God had left them in the most immense stupidity ; but yet did not warrant me to be a judge of their actions , much less an executioner of his righteous judgments : That , on the contrary , whenever he thought fit , he would take vengeance on them himself , and punish them in a national way , according to their national crimes ; but this was nothing at all to me , who had no concern with them . Indeed my man *Friday* might justify himself , because they were his declared enemies , of that very same nation that went to sacrifice him before ; and , indeed , it was lawful for him to attack them , which I could not say was so with respect to me . So warmly did these things press upon my thoughts all the way I went , that I only resolved to place myself so as to behold their bloody entertainment , without falling upon them , except something more than ordinary , by God's special direction , should oblige me thereto .

Thus fixed in my resolution , I entered into the thick wood (my man *Friday* following me close behind) , when , with all possible wariness and silence , I marched till I came to the skirt of it , on that side which was the nearest to them ; for only one end of the wood interposed between me and them . Upon which

I called very softly to *Friday*; and shewing him a great tree, that was just at the corner of the wood, I ordered him to repair thither, and bring me word, if he could plainly perceive their actions: Accordingly, he did as I commanded him, and came back with this melancholy story, that they were all about their fire, eating the flesh of one of their prisoners; and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little distant from them, which they designed for their next sacrifice; and this, he told me, was not one of their nation, but one of those very bearded men, who was driven by a storm into their country, and of whom he had so often talked to me about. You may be sure, that upon hearing this, my soul was ready to sink within me; when ascending up into a tree, I saw plainly, by my glass, a white man, who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and feet ty'd with flags, or things resembling rushes, being covered with clothes, and seemed to be an *European*. From the tree where I took this prospect, I perceived another tree, and a thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them, than where I was; which, by taking a small circle round, I might come at undiscovered, and then I should be within half a shot of these devourers. And this consideration alone, to be more perfectly revenged upon them, made me withhold my passion, though I was enraged to the highest degree imaginable; when going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree; and then I ascended to a little rising ground, not above eighteen yards

distance, and there I had a full view of these creatures, and I could perceive all their actions.

Such a sight did then appear, as obliged me not to lose a moment's time. No less than nineteen of these dreadful wretches sat upon the ground, close huddled together, expressing all the delight imaginable at so barbarous an entertainment; and they had just sent other two to murder this poor unhappy *Christian*, and bring him limb by limb to their fire; for they were just then going to untie the bands from his feet, in order for death, as fetters are knocked off the feet of malefactors before they go to the place of execution. Hereupon, immediately turning to my man, Now, *Friday*, said I, mind what I say, fail in nothing, but do exactly as you see me do. All which he promising he would perform, I set down one of my muskets, and the fowling piece upon the ground, and *Friday* did the same by his; and with the other musket I took my aim at the savages, bidding him do the like: Are you ready, said I? *Yes, master*, said he. Why then fire at them, said I; and that very moment I gave fire likewise.

I only killed one, and wounded two; but my man *Friday*, taking his aim much better than I, killed two, and wounded three. You may be sure they were in a dreadful consternation, at such an unexpected disaster; and those who yet had escaped our penetrating shot, immediately jumped upon their feet, but were in such confusion, that they knew not which way to run or look; not knowing from whence their destruction came. We then threw down our

pieces, and took up others, giving a second dreadful volley; but as they were loaded only with swan-shot, or small pistol bullets, we perceived only two of them fall; though many were wounded, who run yelling and screaming about like mad creatures. Now, *Friday*, said I, lay down your piece, and take up the musket, and follow me. He did so, with great courage, when shewing ourselves to the savages, we gave a great shout, and made directly to the poor victim, who would have been sacrificed, had not our first fire obliged the butchers, with three others, to jump into a canoe. By my order, *Friday* fired at them, at which shot I thought he had killed them all, by reason of their falling to the bottom of the boat; however, he killed two, and mortally wounded a third. In the mean time, I cut the flags that tied the hands and feet of the poor creature, and lifting him up, asked him in the *Portuguese* tongue, *What he was?* He answered me in *Latin*, *Christianus*; but so very weak and faint, that he could scarce stand or speak. Immediately I gave him a dram, and a piece of bread to cherish him, and asked him, what countryman he was? He said, *Espaniola*, and then uttered all the thankfulness imaginable for his deliverance. *Signior*, (said I, with as much *Spanish* as I was master of), let us talk afterwards, but fight now; here, take this sword and pistol, and do what you can. And, indeed, he did so with such courage and intrepidity, that he cut two of them to pieces in an instant, the savages not having the power to fly for their lives. I ordered *Friday* to run for those pieces we had left at the tree,

which he brought me with great swiftness, and then I gave him my musket, while I loaded the rest. But now there happened a fierce encounter between the *Spaniard* and one of the savages, who had made at him with one of their wooden swords; and though the former was as brave as could be expected, having twice wounded his enemy in the head; yet, being weak and faint, the *Indian* had thrown him upon the ground, and was wresting my sword out of his hand, which the *Spaniard* very wisely quitting drew out his pistol, and shot him through the body before I could come near him though I was running to his assistance. As to *Friday*, he pursued the flying wretches with his hatchet, dispatching three, but the rest were too nimble for him. The *Spaniard* taking one of the fowling-pieces, wounded two, who running into the wood, *Friday* pursued and killed one; but the other, notwithstanding his wounds, plunged himself into the sea, and swam to those two who were left in the canoe, which, with one wounded, were all that escaped out of one and twenty. The account is as follows:

Killed at first shot from the tree. 3

At the second shot, 2

By Friday in the boat, 2

Ditto, of those first wounded, 2

Ditto, in the wood, 1

By the Spaniard, 3

Killed or died of their wounds, 4

Escaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not slain, 4

Total 21

The savages in the canoe worked very hard to get out of our reach, and *Friday* was as eager in pursuing them; and indeed, I was no less anxious about their escape, lest, after the news had been carried to their people, they should return in multitudes, and destroy us. So being resolved to pursue them, I jumped into one of their canoes, and bid *Friday* follow me; but no sooner was I in, than, to my surprise, I found another poor creature, bound hand and foot for the slaughter, just as the *Spaniard* had been, with very little life in him. Immediately I unbound him, and would have helped him up; but he could neither stand nor speak, but groaned so piteously, as thinking he was only unbound in order to be slain. Hereupon I bid *Friday* speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance; when pulling out my bottle, I made the poor wretch drink a dram, which, with the joyful news he had received, so revived his heart, that he sat up in the boat. As soon as *Friday* began to hear him speak, and look more fully in his face, it would have moved any one to tears to perceive his uncommon transports of joy; for he kissed, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, halloed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his hands, beat his face and head, then sung and jumped about again, like a distracted creature: so that it was a great while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter with him; but when he came to the liberty of his speech, at last he told me it was his father.

Here indeed I was infinitely moved to see that du-

tiful and tender affection this poor savage had to this aged parent. He would sit down by him in the boat, open his breast, and hold his father's head close to his bosom, half an hour together, to cherish it: then he took his arms and ancles, which were stiff and numbed with binding, and chafed and rubbed them with his hand; by which means, perceiving what the case was, I gave him some rum, which proved of great benefit to him.

While we were busy in this action, the savages had gotten almost out of sight; and happy it was we did not pursue them; For there arose from the north-west, which continued all night long, such a violent storm, that I could not suppose otherwise but that they were all drowned. After this, I called Friday to me, and asked him, if he had given his father any bread? He shook his head, and said, *None, not one bit, me eat a up all*; so I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried for this end. I likewise gave him a dram for himself, and two or three bunches of raisins for his father. Both these he carried to him, for he would make him drink the dram, to comfort him.

Away he then runs out of the boat as if he was bewitched, with such an extraordinary swiftness, that he was out of sight as it were in an instant; but, at his return, I perceived him slacken his pace, because he had something in his hand. And this I found to be, as he approached nearer, an earthen jug with some water to his father, with two more cakes of bread, which he delivered into my hands,

Being very thirsty myself, I drank some of the water, of which when his father had drunk sufficiently, it more revived his spirits than all the rum I had given him.

I then called Friday to me, and ordered him to carry the Spaniard one of the cakes, and some water, who was reposing himself upon a green place under the shade of a tree, but so weak, that though he exerted himself, he could not stand upon his feet. Upon which I ordered Friday to rub and bathe his ancles with rum, as he^m did his father's. But every minute he was employed in this, he would cast a wishful eye towards the boat, where he left his father sitting; who suddenly disappearing, he flew like lightning to him, and finding he only laid himself down to ease his limbs, he returned back to me presently, and then I spoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him, and lead him to the boat, in order to be conveyed to my dwelling, where I would take care of him. Upon which Friday took him upon his back, and so carried him to the canoe, setting him close by his father; and presently stepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew very hard too; and having brought them safe to the creek, away he runs to fetch the other canoe, which he brought to the creek almost as soon as I got to it by land, when wafting me over, he took our new guests out of the boat; but so weak were they, that I was forced to make a kind of a hand-barrow; and when I came to my
castle,

castle, not being willing to make an entrance into my wall, we made them a handsome tent, covered with old sails, and boughs of trees, making two good beds of rice straw, with blankets to lie upon and cover them. Thus, like an absolute king, over subjects who owed their lives to me, I thought myself very considerable, especially as I had now three religions in my kingdom, my man Friday being a Protestant, his father a Pagan, and the Spaniard a Papist: but I gave *liberty of conscience* to them all.

To get provisions for my poor weak subjects, I ordered Friday to kill me a yearling goat; which when he had done, I cut off the hinder quarters, and chopping it into small pieces, boiled and stewed it, putting barley and rice into the broth. This I carried into their tent, set a table, dined with them myself, and encouraged them. *Friday* was my interpreter to his father, and indeed to the Spaniard too, who spoke the language of the savages pretty well. After dinner I ordered *Friday* to fetch home all our arms from the field of battle, and the next day to bury the dead bodies, which he did accordingly.

And now I made *Friday* enquire of his father whether he thought those savages had escaped the late storm in their canoe; and if so, whether they would not return with a power too great for us to resist? He answered, that he thought it impossible they could outlive the storm; or if they were driven southwardly, they would come to a land where they would as certainly be devoured, as if they were

drowned in the sea. And suppose they had attained their own country, the strangeness of their fatal and bloody attack, would make them tell their people, that the rest of them were killed by thunder and lightening, not by the hand of man, but by two heavenly spirits (meaning *Friday* and me) who where sent from above to destroy them. And this, he said, he knew, because he heard them say the same to one another. And indeed he was in the right on't; for I have heard since, that these four men gave out, that whoever went to that enchanted island, would be destroyed by fire from the gods.

No canoes appearing some time after, as I expected, my apprehensions ceased: instead of which my former thoughts of a voyage took place, especially when *Friday's* father assured me I should have good usage in his nation. As to the Spaniard, he told me, that sixteen more of his countrymen, and Portuguese, who had been shipwrecked, made their escape thither; that though they were in union with the savages, yet they were very miserable for want of provisions and other necessaries. When I asked him about the particulars of his voyage, he answered, that their ship was bound from *Rio de la Plata* to the *Havannah*; that when the ship was lost, only five men perished in the ocean; the rest having saved themselves in the boat, were now landed on the main continent. And what do they intend to do there? said I. He replied, they have concerted measures to escape, by building a vessel, but that they had neither tools nor provisions, so that all their de-

signs came to nothing. Supposing (said I) I should make a proposal, and invite them here, would they not carry me prisoner to *New Spain*? He answered, no; for he knew them to be such honest men, as would scorn to act such inhuman baseness to their deliverer: That if I pleased, he and the old savage would go over to them, talk with them about it, and bring me an answer: That they should all swear fidelity to me as their leader, upon the holy sacrament; and, for his part, he would not only do the same, but stand by me to the last drop of his blood, should there be occasion.

These solemn assurances made me resolve to grant them relief, and to send these two over for that purpose: but when every thing was ready, the Spaniard raised an objection, which carried a great deal of weight in it: *You know, Sir, said he, that having been some time with you, I cannot but be sensible of your stock of rice and corn, sufficient, perhaps, for us at present, but not for them, should they come over presently; much less to victual a vessel for an intended voyage. Want might be as great an occasion for them to disagree and rebel, as the children of Israel did against God himself, when they wanted bread in the wilderness. And, therefore, my advice is, to wait another harvest, and in the mean time cultivate and improve some more land, whereby we may have plenty of provisions, in order to execute our design.*

This advice of the Spaniard's I approved extremely; and so satisfied was I of his fidelity, that I esteemed him ever after. And thus we all four went to

work upon some more land, and against seed-time we had gotten so much cured and trimmed up, sufficient to sow 22 bushels of barley on, and 16 jars of rice, which was in short all the seed we had to spare. As we were four in number, and by this time all in good health, we feared not a hundred Indians, should they venture to attack us: and while the corn was growing, I pitched upon some trees, fit to build us a large vessel, in case the *Spaniards* came over; which being marked, I ordered *Friday* and his father to cut them down, appointing the *Spaniard* who was now my privy counsellor, to oversee and direct the work. I likewise encreased my flocks of goats, by shooting the wild dams, and bringing home their kids to my inclosure: Nor did I neglect the grape-season, but cured them as usual, though I had such a quantity now, as would have filled 80 barrels with raisins. And thus, all of us being employed, they in working, and I in providing for them, till harvest came, God Almighty blessed the encrease of it so much, that from twenty-two bushels of barley, we threshed out two hundred and twenty, and the like quantity of rice, sufficient to victual a ship fit to carry me and all the *Spaniards* to any part of America.

Thus the principal objection being answered, by a sufficient stock of provision, I sent my two ambassadors over to the main-land, with a regal authority to administer the oaths of allegiance and fidelity, and have an instrument signed under their hands, though I never asked whether they had pen, ink, or paper; when giving each of them a musket,

eight charges of powder and ball, and provision enough for eight days, they sailed away with a fair gale, on a day when the moon was at full.

Scarce a fortnight had passed over my head; but, impatient for their return, I laid me down to sleep one morning, when a strange accident happened, which was ushered in by my man's coming running to me, and calling aloud, *Master, master, they are come, they are come.* Upon which, not dreaming of any danger, out I jumped from my bed, put on my clothes, and hurried through my little grove; when looking towards the sea, I perceived a boat about a league and a half distant, standing in for the shore, with the wind fair. I beheld they did not come from the side where the land lay on, but from the southermost end of the island: So these being none of the people we wanted, I ordered *Friday* to lie still, till such time as I came down from the mountain, which, with my ladder, I now ascended, in order to discover more fully what they were: and now, with the help of my perspective glass, I plainly perceived an English ship, which I concluded it to be, by the fashion of its long boat; and, which filled me with such uncommon transports of joy, that I cannot tell how to describe; and yet some secret doubts hung about me, proceeding from I know not what cause, as though I had reason to be upon my guard. And, indeed, I would have no man condemn the secret hints and intimations of danger, which very often are given, when he may imagine there is no possibility of its being real; for, had not I been

warned by this silent admonition, I had been in a worse situation than before, and perhaps inevitably ruined.

Not long it was, before I perceived the boat to approach the shore, as though they looked for a place where they might conveniently land; and at last they ran their boat on shore upon the beach, about half a mile's distance; which proved so much the happier for me, since, had they come into the creek, they had landed just at my door, and might not only have forced me out of my castle, but plundered me of all I had in the world. Now I was fully convinced they were all Englishmen, three of which were unarmed and bound; when immediately the first four or five leaped on shore, and took those three out of the boat as prisoners; one of whom I could perceive used the most passionate gestures of entreaty, affliction, and despair, while the others, in a lesser degree, shewed abundance of concern.

Not knowing the meaning of this, I was very much astonished, and I beckoned to *Friday*, who was below, to ascend the mountain, and likewise view this sight. *O master*, says he to me, *you see English mans eat prisoners as well as Savage mans*. And do you think they will eat them, *Friday*? said I. *Yes*, said *Friday*, *they eat a all up*. No, no, said I, *Friday*, I am much more concerned lest they murder them; but as for eating them up, that I am sure they will never do.

And now I not only lamented my misfortune in not having the Spaniard and Savage with me, but

also that I could not come within shot of them unperceived, (they having no fire arms among them) and save these three men, whom I thought they were going to kill with their swords. But some comfort it was to me, that I perceived they were set at liberty to go where they pleased, the rascally seamen scattering about as though they had a mind to see the place: and so long did they negligently ramble, that the tide had ebbed so low, as to leave the boat aground. Nor were the two men that were in her more circumspect: for having drunk a little too much liquor, they fell fast asleep; but one of them waking before the other, and perceiving the boat too fast aground for his strength to move it, he hallooed out to the rest, who made all possible expedition to come to him: but, as Providence ordered it, all their force was ineffectual to launch her, when I could hear them speak to one another, *Why, let her alone, Jack, can't ye, she'll float next tide; by which words I was fully convinced they were my own countrymen.* All this while I lay very quiet, as being fully sensible it could be no less than ten hours before the boat would be afloat, and then it would be so dark, as that they could not easily perceive me, by which means I should be at more liberty to hear their talk, and observe all their motions: not but that I prepared for my defence: yet as I had now another sort of enemies to combat with, I acted with more caution. I took two fuses on my shoulders, and gave *Friday* three muskets; besides, my formidable goat-skin coat, and monstrous

cap, made me look as fierce and terrible as *Hercules* of old, especially when two pistols were stuck in my belt, and my naked sword hanging by my side.

It was my design at first not to make any attempt till it was dark; but it being now two o'clock, in the very heat of the day, the sailors were all straggling into the woods, and undoubtedly were lain down to sleep. The three poor distressed creatures, too anxious to get any repose, were, however, seated under the shade of a great tree, about a quarter of a mile from me. Upon which, without any more ado, I approached towards them, with my man following behind me, and, before I was perceived, I called aloud to them in *Spanish*, *What are ye, Gentlemen?*

At these words, they started up in great confusion, when they beheld the strange figure I made; they returned no answer, but seemed as if they would fly from me; *Gentlemen*, (said I in *English*) *don't be afraid, perhaps you have a friend nearer than you expect.* He must be from heaven, said one of them, gravely pulling off his hat, for we are past all help in this world. *All help is from Heaven*, said I; but, Sir, as I have perceived every action between you and these brutes since your landing, only inform me how to assist you, and I will do it to the utmost of my power.

Am I talking with God or man, said he, in melting tears. Are you of human kind, or an angel? Sir, said I, my poor habit may tell you I am a man, and an Englishman, willing to assist you, having but this servant only: here are arms and ammunition: tell

freely your condition, can we save you? The story, said he, is too long to relate, since our butchers are so near: but, Sir, I was master of that ship, my men have mutinied, and it is a favour they have put my mate, this passenger, and me, on shore without murdering us, though we expect nothing but perishing here. *Are your enemies gone?* said I. No, replied he (pointing to a thicket), there they lie, while my heart trembles, lest, having seen and heard us, they should murder us all. *Have they fire-arms?* said I. They have but two pieces, said he, one of which is left in the boat. He also told me, there were two enormous villains among them, that were the authors of this mutiny, who, if they were killed or seized, might induce the rest to return to their obedience. Well, well, said I, let us retire farther under the covering of the woods; and there it was I made these conditions with him.

I. That, while they staid in the island, they should not pretend to any authority; but should entirely conform to my orders, and return me the arms which I should put into their hands.

II. That, if the ship was recovered, they should afford *Friday* and myself our passage *gratis* to England.

When he had given me all the satisfaction I could desire, I gave him and his two companions each of them a gun, with powder and ball sufficient, advising them to fire upon them as they lay sleeping. The captain modestly said, that he was sorry to kill them; though, on the other hand, to let these vil-

lains escape, who were the authors of his misery, might be the ruin of us all. Well, said he, do as you think fit: and so accordingly I fired, killing one of the captain's chiefeft enemies, and wounding the other, who eagerly called for assistance; but the captain (who had reserved his piece) coming up to him, *Sirrah*, said he, *'tis too late to call for assistance, you should rather cry to God to pardon your villainy*; and so knocked him down with the stock of his gun: three others were also slightly wounded, who, at my approach, cried out for mercy. This, the captain granted, upon condition that they would swear to be true to him in recovering the ship, which they solemnly did: however, I obliged the captain to keep them bound. After which I sent *Friday* and the captain's mate to secure the boat, and bring away the oars and sail; when, at their return, three men coming back, and seeing their late distressed captain, now their conqueror, submitted to be bound also. And then it was, that having more liberty, I related the adventures of my whole life, which he heard with a serious and wonderful attention. After this, I carried him and his two companions into my little fortified castle, shewed them all my conveniencies, and refreshed them with such provisions as I could afford. When this was over, we began to consider about regaining the ship: he said, that there were twenty-six hands on board, who, knowing their lives were forfeited by the law, for conspiracy and mutiny, were so very hardened, that it would be dangerous for our small company to attack them. This

was a reasonable inference, indeed; but something we must resolve on, and immediately put in execution: we, therefore, heaved the boat upon the beach so high that she could not shoot off at high water mark, and broke a hole in her not easily to be stopped; so that all the signals they gave for the boat to come on board were in vain. This obliged them to send another boat ashore, with ten men armed, whose faces the captain plainly descried, the boatswain being the chief officer; but he said there were three honest lads among them, who were forced into the conspiracy. Hereupon I gave him fresh courage (for I had perceived he was in concern); in the mean while securing our prisoners, except two, whom we took to our assistance, we thought ourselves able enough to adventure a battle. When the sailors landed, and beheld their boat in that condition, they not only hallooed, but fired, for their companions to hear, yet they received no answer. This struck them with horror and amazement, thinking their companions were murdered, they made as if they would return to the ship. I could perceive the captain's countenance change at this, till, of a sudden three men were ordered to look after the boat, while the other seven leapt on shore, in order to search for their companions: and, indeed, they came to the brow of the hill, near my ancient castle, from whence they could see to a great distance in the woods, and there shouting and hallooing till tired and weary, they at length seated themselves under a spreading tree. My opinion was, that nothing could be done till night;

when I might use some artifice to get them all out of the boat ; but, of a sudden, they started up, and made to the sea side ; hereupon I ordered *Friday* and the captain's mate to go over the creek, and halloo as loud as they could, and so decoying them into the woods, come round to me again. And this, indeed, had good effect ; for they followed the noise, till coming westward to the creek, they called for their boat to carry them over, and taking one of the men out of her, left two to look after her, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on shore. Hereupon immediately the captain and our party passing the creek, out of their sight, we surpris'd them both, by the captain's knocking down one, and ordering the other to surrender upon pain of death, and who, being the honestest of them all, sincerely joined with us. By this time it was pretty late ; when, the rest, returning to their boat, which they found aground in the creek, the tide out, and the men gone, they ran about, wringing their hands, crying it was an enchanted island, and that they should be all murdered by spirits or devils. My men would willingly have fallen upon them, but I would not agree to hazard any of our party. But, to be more certain, *Friday* and the captain crawled upon their hands and feet, as near as possible ; and, when the boatswain approached in sight, so eager was the captain, that he fired, and killed him on the spot ; *Friday* wounded the next man, and a third ran away. Hereupon I advanced with my whole army ; and, it being dark, I ordered the men we had surpris'd in the boat, to call them.

by their names, and to parley with them. Accordingly he called out aloud, *Tom Smith, Tom Smith!* He answered, *Who's that?* Robinson! answered the other, *For God's sake, Tom, surrender immediately, or you're all dead men. Who must we surrender to?* says Smith. *To our captain and fifty men here, who have taken me prisoner, wounded Will Frye, and killed the boatswain. Shall we have quarter then?* said he. Hereupon the captain calls out, *You, Smith, you know my voice, surrender immediately, and you shall all have your lives granted, except Will. Atkins.* Hereupon Atkins cries out, *What have I done, Captain, more than the rest, who have been as bad as me?* but that was a lie, for he was the person that laid hold of him, and bound him. However, he was ordered to submit to the governor's mercy, for such was I called. And so, laying down their arms, we bound them all, and seized on their boat.

After this, the captain expostulated with them, telling them, that the governor was an Englishman, who might execute them there; but he thought they would be sent to England, except Will. Atkins, who was ordered to prepare for death, next morning. Hereupon Atkins implored the captain to intercede for his life, and the rest begged that they might not be sent to England. This answered our project for seizing the ship. For after sending Atkins, and two of the worst, fast bound to the cave, and the rest being committed to my bower, I sent the captain to treat with them in the governor's name, offering them pardon if they would assist in recovering the

ship. Upon which they all promised to stand by him till the last drop of their blood ; and whoever acted treacherously , should be hanged in chains upon the beach. They were all released on these assurances and then the captain repaired the other boat , making his passenger captain of her , and gave him four men well armed ; while himself , his mate , and five more , went in the other boat. By midnight they came within call of the ship , when the captain ordered Robinson to hail her , and tell them , that with great difficulty they had found the men at last. But while they were discoursing , the captain , his mate , and the rest entered , and knocked down the second mate and carpenter , secured those that were upon the deck , by putting them under hatches , while the other boat's crew entered and secured the forecabin ; they then broke into the round-house , where the mate , after some resistance , shot the pirate captain through the head , upon which all the rest yielded themselves prisoners. And thus the ship being recovered , the joyful signal was fired , which I heard with the greatest joy imaginable : nor was it long before they brought the ship to an anchor at the creek's mouth , where coming to me unawares , *There , says he , my dearest friend and deliverer , there is your ship , and we are your servants ;* a comfort so unspeakable , as made me swoon in his arms , while , with gratitude to heaven , we were tenderly embracing each other.

Nothing now remaining , but to consult what we should do with the prisoners , whom he thought it

was not safe to take on board. Hereupon, concerting with the captain, I dressed myself in one of his suits, and sending for them, told them, That as I was going to leave the island with all my people, if they would tarry there, their lives should be spared; if not, they should be hanged at the first port they came at. They agreed to stay. Hereupon I told them my whole story, charging them to be kind to the Spaniards that were expected, gave them all my arms, and informing them of every thing necessary for their subsistence, I and my man *Friday* went on board. But the next morning two of the men came swimming to the ship's side, desiring the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them afterwards, complaining mightily how barbarously the others used them. Upon which I prevailed with the captain to take them in; and being severely whipt and pickled, they proved more honest for the future. And so I bid farewell to this island, carrying along with me my money, my parrot, umbrella, and goat-skin cap; setting sail Decem^r 12. 1686, after twenty eight years, two months, and nineteen days residence, that same day and month that I escaped from Salee, landing in England, June 11. 1687, after five and thirty years absence from my own country, which rendered me altogether a stranger there.

Here I found my first captain's widow alive, who had buried a second husband, but in very mean circumstances, and whom I made mighty easy upon my account. Soon after I went down to Yorkshire, where all my family were expired, except two

sisters, and as many of one of my brother's children. I found no provision had been made for me, they concluding I had been long since dead; so that I was but in a very slender station. Indeed the captain did me a great kindness, by his report to the owners, how I had delivered their ship on the desolate island, upon which they made me a present of 200 *l.* Sterling. I next went to Lisbon, taking my man *Friday* with me, and there arriving in April, I met the Portuguese captain, who had taken me on board on the African coast; but being ancient, he had left off the sea, and resigned all his business to his son, who followed the Brazil trade. So altered both of us were, that we did not know each other at first, till I discovered myself more fully to him. After a few embraces, I began to enquire of my concerns; and then the old gentleman told me, that it was nine years since he had been at Brazil, where my partner was then living, but my trustees were both dead; that he believed I should have a good account of the product of my plantation; that the imagination of my being lost, had obliged my trustees to give an estimate of my share to the procurator-fiscal, who, in case of my not returning, had given one third to the king, and the rest to the monastery of St Augustine; but if I put in my claim, or any one for me, it would be returned, except the yearly product, which was given to the poor. I then desired him to tell me what improvement he thought had been made of my plantation, and whether he imagined it was worth my while to look after it? He answered, he

did not know how much it was improved ; but this he was certain of , that my partner was grown vastly rich upon his half of it ; and that he had been informed , that the king had 200 moidores per annum for his third part. He added , that the survivors of my trustees were persons of an ingenuous character ; that my partner could witness my title , my name being registered in the country , by which means I should indisputably recover considerable sums of money. But , answered I , how could my trustees dispose of my effects , when I made you only my heir ? This , he said , was true ; but , there being no affidavit made of my death , he could not act as my executor. However , he had ordered his son (then at Brazil) to act by procuration upon my account , and he had taken possession of my sugar-house , having accounted himself for eight years with my partner and trustees for the profits , of which he would give me a very good account.

And , indeed , this he performed very faithfully , in a few days , making himself indebted to me 470 moidores of gold , over and above what had been lost at sea , after I had left the place. And then he recounted to me what misfortunes he had gone through which forced my money out of his hands to buy part in a new ship : *but , says he , you shall not want , take this , and when my son returns , every farthing shall be paid you.* Upon which he put into my hand a purse of 150 moidores in gold , as likewise the instrument , containing the title to the ship which his son was in , and which he offered as security for the re-

mainder. But really when I saw so much goodness, generosity, tenderness, and real honesty, I had not the heart to accept it, for fear he should straiten himself upon my account. *It is true*, said he, *it may be so; but then the money is yours, not mine, and you may have the greatest occasion for it.* However, I returned fifty of them back again, promising, that I would freely give him the other hundred when I got my effects in my hands, and that I designed to go myself for that purpose. But he told me he could save me that trouble, and so caused me to enter my name, with a public notary, as likewise my affidavit, with a procuration affixed to it; and this he ordered me to send in a letter to one of his acquaintance, a merchant in Brazil: and, indeed, nothing could be more faithfully and honourably observed; for, in seven months time, I had a very faithful account of all my effects, what sums of money were raised, what expended, and what remained for my use: in a word, I found myself to be worth 5000*l.* Sterling, and 1000*l.* *per annum.* Nor was this all; for my partner congratulated me upon my being alive, telling me how much my plantation was improved, what negroes were at work, and how many *Ave Marias* he had said to the virgin Mary for my preservation, desiring me to accept kindly some presents he had sent me, which I found shewed the greatest generosity.

No sooner did the ship arrive, but I rewarded my faithful captain, by returning him the hundred *moidores*; and not only forgiving him all he owed me,

I allowed him yearly a hundred more, and fifty to his son, during their lives. And now being resolved to go to England: I returned letters of thanks to the prior of St Augustine, and in particular to my old partner, with very suitable presents. By the captain's advice, I was persuaded to go by land to Calais, and there take passage for England; when, as it happened, I got a young English gentleman, a merchant's son at Lisbon, to accompany me, together with two English, and two Portuguese gentlemen; so that with a Portuguese servant, an English sailor, and my man Friday, there were nine of us in number.

Thus armed and equipped, we set out, and came to Madrid, when the summer decaying, we hasten'd to Navarre, where we were informed, that there was scarcely any passing, by reason of the prodigious quantity of snow; so that we were obliged to abide near twenty days at Pampeluna, and at last to take a guide to conduct us safe towards Tholouse. And now twelve other gentlemen joining with us, together with their servants, we had a very jolly company. Away our guide led us by the frightful mountains, and through so many intricate mazes and windings, that we insensibly passed them, which, as we travelled along, ushered us into the prospect of the fruitful and charming provinces of Languedoc and Gascoigne.

But now came on two adventures, both tragical and comical. First, our guide was encountered by three wolves and a bear, who set upon him and his horse, and wounded him in three places; upon which my man, riding up to his assistance, shot one of them

dead upon the spot, which made the others retire to the woods. But the pleasanter adventure was, to behold my man attack the bear. 'Tis such a creature, that if you let him alone, he will never meddle with you : and this my man very well knew, and so begging leave of me, in broken English, he told us *he would make good laugh*. Why, you silly fool, said I, he'll eat you up at a mouthful. *Eatee me up*, replied he, by way of scorn, *me not only eatee him, but make much Good laugh*. Upon which, pulling off his boots, he claps on his pumps, and running after the monstrous beast, he called out, that he wanted to discourse with him ; and then throwing stones on purpose to incense him, the beast turns about in fury, and with prodigious strides, shuffles after him. But though he was not swift enough to keep up pace with *Friday*, who made up to us as it were for help, yet being angry, *You dog*, said I, *immediately take horse, and let us shoot the creature*. But he cried, *Dear master, no shoot, me make you laugh much*. And so he turned about, making signs to follow, while the bear ran after him, till coming to a great oak he ascended in a minute, leaving his gun at the bottom of it. Nor did the bear make any difficulty of it, but ascended like a cat, though his weight was very great. You must consider I was not a little amazed at the folly of my man, as not perceiving any thing to occasion our laughter, till such time as we rode up nearer, and beheld the beast mounted upon the oak, on the beginning of the same branch, to which *Friday* clung at the farther end, where the bear durst

not come. Hereupon *Friday* cried out, *Now master, me make much laugh, me make de bear dance.* Upon which he fell a shaking the bough, which made the creature look behind him, to see how he could retreat. Then, as if the bear had understood his stammering English; *Why you no come farther, Mr Bear?* said he, *pray, Mr Bear, come farther:* and then indeed we all burst into laughter, especially when we perceived *Friday* drop like a squirrel upon the ground, leaving the beast to make the best of his way down the tree. And now thinking it the most convenient time to shoot the creature, *Friday* cried out, *O dear master, no shoot, me shoot by and by;* when taking up the gun, *Me no shoot yet,* said he, *me make once more much laugh.* And, accordingly, he was as good as his word; for the creature descending backwards from the tree very leisurely, before he could lay one foot on the ground, *Friday* shot him through the ear, stone dead; and looking to see whether we were pleased, he burst out into a hearty laughter, saying, *So we kell de bear in my country, not with the gun, but with much long arrows.* Thus ended our diversion, to our great satisfaction; especially in a place where the terrible howlings struck us with a continual terror. But the snows now growing very deep, particularly on the mountains, the ravenous creatures were obliged to seek for sustenance in the villages, where coming by surprise on the country-people, they killed several of them, besides a great number of their sheep and horses.

Our guide told us, we had yet one more danger:

ous place to pass by; and if there were any more wolves in the country, there we should find them. This was a small plain, encompassed with woods, to get through a long lane, to the village where we were to lodge. When we entered the wood, the sun was within half an hour of setting; and a little after it was set, we came into the plain, which was not above two furlongs over, and then we perceived five great wolves cross the road, without taking notice of us, and so swift as though they were pursuing after their prey. Hereupon our guide, believing there were more coming, desired us to be upon our guard. Accordingly our eyes were very circumspect, till about half a league farther, we perceived a dead horse, and near a dozen of wolves devouring its carcase. My man *Friday* said would have fired at them, but I would not permit him; nor had we gone half over the plain, but we heard dreadful howlings in a wood on our left, when presently we saw an hundred come up against us, as though they had been an experienced army. This obliged us to form ourselves in the best manner; and then I ordered that every other man should fire, that those who did not, might be ready to give a second volley, should they advance upon us; and then every man should make use of his pistols. But there was no necessity for this; for the enemy being terrified, stopped at the noise of the fire; four of them were shot dead, and several others being wounded, went bleeding away, as we could very plainly discover by the snow. And now remembering what had been often told me, that

such was the majesty of a man's voice, as to strike terror even into the fiercest creatures, I ordered all our companions to halloo as loud as possible: and in this notion I was not altogether mistaken; for they immediately turned about upon the first halloo, and began to retire; upon which, ordering a second volley in their rear, they galloped into the woods with great precipitation.

Thus we had some small time to load our pieces again, and then made all the haste we could on our way; but we had not rode far, before we were obliged to put ourselves in a posture of defence as before, being alarmed with a very dreadful noise in the same wood, on our left hand, the same way as we were to pass, only that it was at some distance from us. By this time the darksome clouds began to spread over the elements, and the night growing very dusky, made it so much the more to our disadvantage; but still the noise increasing, we were fully assured, that it was the howling and yelling of those ravenous creatures; when presently three troops of wolves, on our front, appeared to our sight, as though a great number of them had a design to surround us and devour us in spite of fate. But as they did not fall upon us immediately, we proceeded on our journey in as swift a manner as the roads would permit our horses, which was only a large trot. It was in this manner we travelled, till such time as we discovered another wood, and had the prospect of its entrance through which we were to pass, at the farthest side of the plain. But surely none can express

the terror we were in, when, approaching the lane we perceived a confused number of the fiercest wolves standing, and, as it were, guarding its entrance. Nor were we long in this amazement, before another occasion of horror presented itself; for suddenly we heard the report of a gun at another opening into the wood, and, looking that way, out ran a horse bridled and saddled, flying with the greatest swiftness, and no less than sixteen or seventeen wolves pursuing after him, in order to devour the poor creature: and unquestionably they did so, after they had run him down, not being able to hold out that swiftness with which he at first escaped them.

When we rode up to that entrance from whence the horse came forth, there lay the carcases of another horse and two men, mangled and torn by these devouring wolves: and undoubtedly one of these men was the person who fired the gun which we had heard, for the piece lay by him; but, alas! most of the upper part of his body and his head were entombed in the bowels of these ravenous creatures.

What course to take, whether to proceed or retreat, we could not tell; but it was not long before the wolves themselves made us come to a resolution: for such numbers surrounded us, every one of whom expected their prey, that, were our bodies to be divided among them, there would not be half a mouthful apiece. But happy, very happy it was for us, that but a little way from the entrance, there lay some very large timber trees, which I supposed had been cut down and laid there for sale; amongst which I drew
my

my little troop, placing ourselves in a line behind one long tree, which served us for a breast work, when desiring them to alight, we stood in a triangle, or three fronts, inclosing our horses in the centre, the only place where we could preserve them.

Never certainly was there a more furious charge than what the wolves made upon us in this place; and the sight of the horses, which was the principal prey they aimed at, provoked their hunger, and added to their natural fierceness. They came on us with a most dreadful noise, that made the woods ring again; and beginning to mount the pieces of timber, I ordered every other man to fire as before directed: and, indeed, so well did they take their aim, that they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but still we were obliged to keep a continual firing, by reason they came on like devils, pushing one another with the greatest fury. But our second volley something abated their courage, when, stopping a little, we hoped they would have made the best of their way; however, it did not prove so, for others made a new attempt upon us: and though in four firings we killed seventeen or eighteen of them, laming twice as many, yet they several times successively came on, as though they valued not their lives for the sake of their prey.

Unwilling was I to spend our last shot too suddenly, and therefore called my other servant, and giving him a horn of powder, bid him lay a large train quite along the timber, which he did, while *Friday* was charging my fusée and his own, with the greatest

dexterity. By this time the wolves coming up the timber, I set fire to the train, by snapping a discharged pistol close on the powder. This so scorched and terrified them, that some fell down, and others jumped in among us; but these we immediately dispatched, when all the rest, frightened with the light, which the darksome night caused to appear more dreadful, began at length to retire; upon which, ordering our last pistols to be fired at once, giving at the same time a great shout, the wolves were obliged to have recourse to their swiftness, and turn tail; and then we sallied out upon twenty lame ones, cutting them in pieces with our swords, which obliged them to howl lamentably, to the terror of their fellows, who resigned to us the field as victorious conquerors. And, indeed, I question whether *Alexander* king of *Macedonia*, in any of his conquests, had more occasion for triumph than we had; for he was but attacked by numerous armies of soldiers; whereas our little army was obliged to combat a legion of devils, as it were, worse than the cannibals, who, the same moment had they slain us, would have sacrificed us, to satisfy their voracious appetites.

Thus ended our bloody battle with the beasts, having killed threescore of them, and saved our lives from their fury. We still had a league farther to go, when as we went, our ears were saluted with their most unwelcome howlings, and we expected every moment another attack. But, in an hour's time, we arrived at the town where we were to lodge; and here we found the place strictly guarded, and all in

terrible confusion, as well they might, for fear of the bears and wolves breaking into the village, in order to prey upon their cattle and people. The next morning we were obliged to take a new guide, by reason the other fell very bad of his wounds, which he had received, as before mentioned. After we had reached *Tholouse*, we came into a warm, pleasant, and fruitful country, not infested with wolves, nor any sort of ravenous creatures; and when we told our story there, they much blamed our guide, for conducting us through the forest at the foot of the mountains, in such a severe season, when the snow obliged the wolves to seek for shelter in the woods. When we informed them in what manner we placed ourselves, and the horses in the centre, they exceedingly reprehended us, and told us, it was an hundred to one, but we had all been destroyed; for that it was the very sight of the horses, their so much desired prey, that made the wolves more ragingly furious than they would have been, which was evident, by their being at other times really afraid of a gun; but then being exceeding hungry and furious, upon that account, their eagerness to come at the horses made them insensible of their danger; and that, if we had not, by a continual fire, and at last by the cunning stratagem of the train of powder, got the better of them, it had been great odds if their number had not overpowered us; besides, it was a great mercy we alighted from our horses, and fought them with that courage and conduct, which, had we failed to do, every man of us, with our beasts, had been devoured;

and, indeed, this was nothing but truth; for never, in my life, was I so sensible of danger, as when three hundred devils came roaring upon us, to shun whose unwelcome company, if I was sure to meet a storm every week, I would rather go a thousand leagues by sea.

I think I have nothing uncommon in my passage through France to take notice of, since other travellers of greater learning and ingenuity, have given a more ample account than my pen is able to set forth. From Tholouse I travelled to Paris, from thence to Calais, where I took shipping, and landed at Dover the 14th of January, in a very cold season.

Thus come to the end of my travels, I soon discovered my new found estate, and all the bills of exchange I had brought were currently paid. The good ancient widow, my only privy counsellor, thought no pains nor care too great to procure my advantage; nor had I ever occasion to blame her fidelity, which drew from me an ample reward. I was for leaving my effects in her hands, intending to set out for Lisbon, and so to the Brazils; but as in the *Desolate Island* I had some doubts about the Romish religion, so I knew there was little encouragement to settle there, unless I would apostatize from the orthodox faith, or live in continual fear of the Inquisition. Upon this account, I resolved to sell my plantation; and, for that intent, I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, who returned me an answer to my great satisfaction; which was, that he could sell it to good account: however, if I thought it convenient to give

him liberty to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees, residing at the Brazils, who consequently understood its intrinsic value, having lived just upon the spot, and who I was sensible were very rich, and, therefore, might be the more willing to purchase it; he did not in the least doubt, but that I should make four or five thousand pieces of eight more of it, than I could do, if I disposed of it in any other manner whatsoever.

You may be sure I could not but agree with this kind and ingenuous proposal; and immediately I sent him an order to offer it to them, which he accordingly did; so that, about eight months after, the ship being in that time returned, he gave me a satisfactory account, that they not only willingly accepted the offer, but that they had also remitted 33,000 pieces of eight to a correspondent of their own at Lisbon, in order to pay for the purchase.

Hereupon, in return, I signed the instrument of sale according to form, which they had sent from Lisbon, and returned it again to my old friend, he having sent me, for my estate, bills of three hundred twenty-eight thousand pieces of eight, reserving the payment of one hundred moidores *per annum*, which I had allowed him during life, likewise fifty to his son during life also, according to my faithful promise, which the plantation was to make good as a rent-charge.

And thus having led my reader to the knowledge of the first part of my life, so remarkable for the many peculiar providences that attended it, floating in an ocean of uncertainty and disappointment, of adver-

fity and prosperity, beginning foolishly, and yet ending happily; methinks, now that I am come to a safe and pleasant haven, it is time to cast out my anchor, and, laying up my vessel, bid, for a while, adieu to foreign adventures. I had no other concerns to look after, but the care of my brother's two sons, which, with the good widow's persuasions, obliged me to continue at home seven years. One of these children I bred up a gentleman, and the other an experienced sailor, remarkable for his courage and bravery. Besides this, I married a virtuous young gentlewoman, of a very good family, by whom I had two sons and one daughter. But my dear and tender wife leaving this earthly stage, (as in the second part of my life you will hear), which rent my soul as it were asunder, my native country became weary and tiresome to me: and my nephew happening to come from the sea, tempted me to venture another voyage to the East Indies, which I did in the year 1694, at which time I visited my island, and informed myself of every thing that happened since my departure.

One might reasonably imagine, that what I had suffered, together with an advanced age, and the fear of losing, not only what I had gotten, but my life also, might have choaked up all the seeds of youthful ambition and curiosity, and put a lasting period to my wandering inclinations. But as nothing but death can fully allay the active part of my life, no less remarkable for the many various contingencies of it; you will next perceive how I visited my little king-

dom, saw my successors the Spaniards, had an account of the usage they met with from the Englishmen, agreeing and disagreeing, uniting and separating, till at last they were subjected to the Spaniards, who yet used them very honourably, together with the wonderful and successful battles over the Indians, who invaded, and thought to have conquered the island, but were repelled by their invincible courage and bravery, having taken eleven men and five women prisoners, by which, at my return, I found about twenty young children on my little kingdom. Here I staid twenty days, left them supplies of all necessary things, as also a carpenter and smith, and shared the island into parts, reserving the whole property to myself. Nor will you be insensible, by the account of these things, of several new adventures I have been engaged in, the battles I have fought, the deliverances I have met with: and while, in the surprising relation of such remarkable occurrences, I shall describe many of God's kindest providences to me in particular, no less conspicuous in the same goodness, power, and majesty of our great Creator, shewn, one way or other, over the face of the earth, if duly adverted to.

The further Adventures of Robinson Crusoe ; wherein are contained several strange and surprising accounts of his travels , and the most remarkable transactions both by sea and land ; with his wonderful vision of the Angelic World.

WHEN we consider the puissant force of Nature , and what mighty influence it has many times over the temper of the mind , it will be no such great wonder to think , that my powerful reason should be overcome by a much stronger inclination. My late acquired kingdom ran continually in my thoughts all the day , and I dreamed of it in the night ; nay , I made it the continual subject of my talk , even to impertinence , when I was awake. I had such vapours in my head , that I actually supposed myself at my castle ; that I not only perceived *Friday's* father , but the old Spaniard , and the wicked sailors , but that I talked and discoursed with them about their manner of living ; that I heard these things related to me , which I found afterwards to be but too true ; and that I executed my judgments with the greatest severity upon the offenders. And , indeed , this anticipating all the pleasing joys of my life , scarcely afforded me one pleasant hour : my dear and tender wife could not but take notice of it , which drew these affectionate speeches from her : *My dear , said she , I am really persuaded that some secret impulse from heaven occasions in you a determina-*

tion to see the island again : nor am I less sensible , but your being engaged to me , and these dear children , is the only hinderance of your departure. I know , my dear , if I was in the grave , you would not long continue at home ; prevent not your happiness upon my account , whose only comfort centers in you. All that I can object is , that such an hazardous undertaking is no way consistent with a person of your years ; but if you are resolved to go , added she , weeping , only permit me to bear you company , and that is all that I desire.

Such endearing tenderness , graced with the most innocent , and yet most powerful charms , brought me insensibly into my right understanding ; and when I considered all the transactions of my life , and particularly my new engagement ; that I had now one child already born , and my wife big of another ; and that I had no occasion to seek for more riches , who already was blessed with sufficiency , with much struggling I altered my resolutions at last , resolving to apply myself to some business or other , which might put a period to such wandering inclinations. Hereupon I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford , with a resolution to move thither : upon this there was a pretty convenient house , surrounded with land , very capable of improvement , which suited my temper as to planting , managing and cultivating. Nor was I long before I entered upon my new settlement , having bought ploughs , harrows , carts , waggons , horses , cows , and sheep ; so that I now led the life of a country gentleman , and as happy in my retirement as the greatest monarch in the world,

And what made me think my happiness the greater was, that I was in that *middle state of life*, which my father had so often recommended, much resembling the felicity of a rural retirement, which is elegantly described by the poet in these lines :

*Free from all vices, free from care,
Age has no pain, and youth no snare.*

But, in the midst of this my happiness, I was suddenly plunged into the greatest sorrow that I could possibly endure: for, when I least expected it, my dear and tender wife was forced to submit to the irresistible power of death, leaving this transitory life for a better. It is impossible for me to express the beauties of her mind, or the loveliness of her person; neither can I too much lament her loss, which my latest breath shall record: her influence was greater over me, than the powers of my own reason, the importunities of friends, the instructions of a father, or the melting tears of a tender and disconsolate mother: in a word, she was the spirit of all my affairs, and the center of my enterprises. But now, since the cruel hand of death had closed my dearest's eyes, I seemed in my thoughts a stranger to the world; my privy counsellor being gone, I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run before the wind. And when I looked around me in this busy world, one part labouring for bread, and the other squandering away their estates; this put me in mind how I had lived in my little kingdom, where both reason and religion dictated to me, that there was something

that certainly was the reason and end of life, which was far superior to what could be hoped for on this side the grave. My country delights were now as insipid and dull, as music or science to those who have neither taste nor ingenuity. In short, resolving to leave off house keeping, I left my farm, and, in a few months, returned to London.

But neither could that great city, so famous for its variety of entertainment, afford me any agreeable delight; a state of idleness I found to be the very dregs of life, and most hurtful to body and soul. It was now the beginning of the year 1694, at which time my nephew (who, as I before observed, had been brought up to the sea, and advanced to be captain of a ship) was returned from a short voyage to Bilboa, the first he had made in that station. He comes to me one morning, telling me, that some merchants of his acquaintance had proposed to him to go a voyage for them, to the East Indies and China, in the manner of private traders: and now, *uncle*, said he, *if you'll accompany me thither, I'll engage to land you upon your old island, to visit the state of your little kingdom.*

Just before he came in, my thoughts were fixed to get a patent for its possession, and then to fill it with inhabitants. After I had paused a little while, and looked stedfastly on him, *What devil, or spirit*, said I, *sent you with this unlucky errand?* He started at first; but recovering himself, when he perceived I was not offended; Sir, replied he, what I have proposed cannot, I hope, be styled unlucky, since

certainly you must be desirous to see your little territory, where you reigned with more content than any of your brother-kings in the universe. Nephew, said I, if you will leave me there, and call for me as you come back, I care not if I give my consent: but he answered, that the merchants would not allow their vessel, loaden with an infinite value, to return there again, which was a month's sail out of the way: besides, Sir, said he, if I should miscarry, was your request granted, why then you would be locked up as before. This, indeed, carried a great deal of reason in it; but we found out a remedy, and that was to carry a framed sloop on board, ready to be set up in the island, by the assistance of some carpenters, which we should carry with us, that might be fitted in a few days to go to sea. I was not long in forming my resolution, which over-ruled my good friend the widow's persuasions, and the natural affection I bore to my young children. I made my will, and settled my estate in such a manner, that I was perfectly sure that my poor infants would have justice done them. The good widow not only undertook to make provision for my voyage, but also took the charge of my domestic affairs, and to provide for my children's education; and indeed no mother could take more care, or understood that office better; for which I lived to reward, and return her my hearty thanks.

The beginning of January 1694-5, my nephew being ready to sail, I and *Friday* went on board in the Downs on the 8th, having, beside that sloop already mentioned, a very considerable cargo for my

new colony. *First*, I had some servants, whom I proposed to leave there as inhabitants, or to work while I staid there, as they should appear willing: there were two carpenters, a smith, and a very ingenious fellow who was Jack of all trades; for he was not only a cooper by trade, but also he was dexterous at making wheels and hand-mills to grind corn, likewise a good turner, and a good pot-maker. I also carried a tailor, who consented to stay in my plantation, and proved a most necessary fellow in the island. As to my cargo, it consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and English stuffs, for clothing the Spaniards that I expected to find there; as likewise gloves, hats, shoes, stockings; together with beds, bedding, and household stuff, especially kitchen utensils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c. also nails, tools of all sorts, staples, hooks, hinges, and all others things necessary; all which, I think, cost me about three hundred pounds. Nor was this all; for I carried an hundred spare arms, muskets, and fuses, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of several sorts of shot, two brass cannon, besides swords, cutlasses, and the iron part for some pikes and halberts. I made my nephew take with us two small quarter deck guns, more than he had occasion for in his ship, to leave behind, if there was a necessity; that so we might build a fort there, and man it against all opposers whatsoever.

Well, we put out to sea; and though I can't say this voyage was so unprosperous as my others had been, yet contrary winds drove us so far northward,

that we were obliged to put in at Galway in Ireland, where we lay wind bound two and twenty days. Here indeed our provisions were very cheap, and we added to our ship's stores, by taking in several live hogs, two cows and calves, which I then resolved to put on shore in my island, if our necessities did not call for them. On the 5th of February we sailed from Ireland, with a very fair gale, which lasted for some days; and I think it was about the 20th of the same month, late in the evening, when the mate informed us that he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and when he was speaking, a boy came in, and told us, that the boatswain had heard another. Upon which we all ran to the quarter-deck, from whence in a few moments we perceived a terrible fire at a distance. We had immediately recourse to our reckonings, in which we were all of opinion, that there could be no land that way, it appearing to be at N. N. W. Hereupon we concluded that some ship had taken fire at sea, and that it could not be far off, by the report of the guns which we had heard. We made up directly to it, and in half an hour's time, the wind being fair, we could plainly perceive a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea. Touched with this unhappy disaster, and considering my former circumstances, when the Portuguese captain took me up, I immediately ordered five guns to be fired, that the poor creatures, not seeing us, it being dark, (though we could perceive their flame), might be sensible there was deliverance at hand, and consequently might en-

deavour to save themselves in their boat. Nor was it long before the ship blew up in the air, and the fire was extinguished in the ocean. But supposing them all to be in their boats, we hung out our lanterns, and kept firing till eight o'clock in the morning; when, with our perspectives, we beheld two boats, full of people, making towards us, though the tide was against them: then spreading out our ancient, and hanging out a waft, as a signal for them to come on board, in half an hour's time, we came up to them, and took them all in, there being no less than sixty four men, women, and children. It was a French merchant ship of 300 tons, homeward bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The master informed me how, by the negligence of the steerfman, the steerage was set on fire: that, at his outcry for help, the fire was, as they thought, totally extinguished; but, that some sparks getting between the timber, and within the ceiling, it proceeded into the hold, where there was no resisting it: that then they got into their boats, as creatures in the last extremity, with what provision they had, together with oars, sails, and a compass, intending to go back to Newfoundland, the wind blowing at S. E. and by E though there were several chances against them, as storms to overset and founder them, rains and colds to benumb and perish their limbs, and contrary winds to keep them back and starve them; but, said he, in this our great distress, we heard the welcome report of your guns, when, with unspeakable joy, taking down our masts and sails, we were resolved to

lie by till morning ; but perceiving your light , we set our oars at work to keep our boat a-head , the sooner to attain your ship , the happy instrument of our deliverance.

Indeed, no one can express the joy of these poor creatures on this occasion ; fear and grief are easily set forth ; sighs and tears , with a few motions of the hands and head , are all the demonstrations of these passions ; but an excess of joy , carries in it a thousand extravagancies ; especially , I think , amongst the French , whose temper is allowed to be more volatile , passionate , sprightly , and gay , than that of other nations . Some were weeping , tearing themselves in the greatest agonies of sorrow , and running stark mad about the ship , while the rest were stamping with their feet , wringing their hands , singing , laughing , swooning away , vomiting , fainting , with a few returning hearty thanks to the Almighty , and crossing themselves . I think , if I am not mistaken , our surgeon was obliged to let thirty of them blood . But among the passengers , there were two priests , the one an old , and the other a young man ; but what amazed me more was , that the oldest was in the worst plight ; for no sooner did he perceive himself freed from danger , but he dropt down , as it were without life , and , to every one's appearance , quite dead ; but the surgeon , chafing and rubbing his arm , opened a vein , which at first dropped , and then flowing more freely , the old man began to open his eyes , and in a quarter of an hour was well again . But soon remembering his happy change , the joy of

which whirled his blood about faster than the vessels could convey it, he became so feverish, as made him more fit for bedlam than any other place ; but the surgeon giving him a sleepy dose , he was perfectly composed the next morning.

Remarkable, indeed, was the behaviour of the young priest. At his entrance on board the ship , he fell on his face in the most humble prostration to the Almighty. I thought , indeed , he had fallen into a swoon , and so ran to help him up ; but he modestly told me , he was returning his thanks to the Almighty , desiring me to leave him a few moments , and that , next to his Creator , he would return me thanks also. And , indeed , he did so , about three minutes after , with great seriousness and affection , while the tears stood in his eyes , which convinced me of the gratitude of his soul. Nor did he less shew his piety and wisdom , in applying himself to his country people , and labouring to compose them , by the most powerful reasons , arguments , and persuasions. And when indeed , these people had taken their night's repose , in such lodgings as our ship would allow , we found nothing but the best of manners , and the most civil acknowledgments , for which the French are eminently remarkable. The next day the captain and one of the priests desired to speak with me , and my nephew the commander. They told us , that they had saved some money and valuable things out of the ruined vessel , which was at our service : only that they desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way. At the first , my nephew was for accep-

ting the money ; but I (who knew how hard my case would have been, had the Portuguese captain served me so) persuaded him to the contrary ; and therefore told them, that as we had done nothing but what we were obliged to do, by nature and humanity, and what we ourselves might expect from others in such calamity ; so we took them up to save them, not to plunder them , or leave them naked upon the land , to perish for want of subsistence, and therefore would not accept their money : but as to landing them, that was a great difficulty ; for , being bound to the East Indies , it was impossible wilfully to change our voyage upon their particular account, nor could my nephew (who was under charter-party to pursue it by way of Brazil) answer it to the freighters. All that we could do, was to put ourselves in the way of meeting some ships homeward bound from the West Indies, that, if possible, they might get a passage to France or England. Indeed , they were very thankful for our first kindness ; but were under great concern , especially the passengers , at their being carried to the East Indies. They begged, therefore, I would keep on the banks of Newfoundland, where, probably , they might meet with some ship or sloop to carry them to Canada , whence they came. As this was but a reasonable request, I was inclined to grant it, since it was no breach of charter-party , and that the laws of God and nature obliged us to do what good we could to our fellow-creatures ; and besides , the danger we ourselves should be in for want of provisions : so we consented to carry them to Newfoundland , if wind

and weather would permit; if not, that we should carry them to Martinico in the West Indies. But as it happened, in a week's time, we made the banks of Newfoundland, where the French people hired a bark to carry them to France. But the young priest being desirous to go to the East Indies, I readily agreed to it, because I liked his conversation, and two or three of the French sailors also entered themselves on board our ship.

Now, directing our course for the West Indies, steering S. and S. by E. about twenty days, with little wind, another adventure happened, to exercise our humanity. In the latitude of 27 degrees 5 minutes north, the 19th of March 1694-5, we perceived a sail, (our course S. E. and by S.), which bore up to us, and then she appeared to be a large vessel, having lost her main top-mast, fore-mast, and bolt-sprit; when firing a gun, as a signal of distress, wind N. N. W. we soon came to speak with her. She was a ship of Bristol, bound home, from Barbadoes, out of which road she had been forced by a hurricane to the westward, in which they lost their masts.

They told us, their expectations were to see the Bahama islands, but were driven away by a strong wind at N. N. W. and having no sails to work the ship with, but the main course, and a kind of square sail upon a jury fore-mast, because they could not come near the land, were endeavouring to stand for the Canaries; nay, what was worse, besides all their fatigue, they were almost starved for want of provision, having ate nothing for eleven days; all that they

had aboard was sugar , a barrel of fresh water , and seven casks of rum. In this ship were three passengers, a youth, his mother , and a maid servant , who were in a most deplorable condition for want of food. If I had not gone on board their ship, the knowledge of their misery had been concealed from me, and they would have inevitably perished, though, indeed, their second mate (who was captain , by reason the true captain was not on board when the hurricane happened) had before informed me that there were such persons on board, whom he supposed to be dead, being afraid to enquire after them , because he had nothing to give them for relief. Hereupon we resolved to let them have what we could spare , ordering the mate to bring some of his men on board us , which he did accordingly ; as he and they looked like skeletons , when meat was set before them , I ordered them to eat sparingly. But, however, they soon fell sick ; which obliged the surgeon to mix something in their broth , which was to be to them both food and physic. When they were fed , we ordered our mate to carry them a sack of bread , and four or five pieces of beef ; but the surgeon charged them to see it boiled , and to keep a guard on the cook-room , to prevent the men from eating it raw, and consequently killing themselves with what was designed for their relief. But , particularly , I desired the mate to see what condition the poor passengers were in, and the surgeon gave him a pitcher of the same broth which he had prepared for the men. And being curious to see this scene of misery myself , I took the

captain (as we called the mate of the ship) in our own boat, and sailed after them.

Here was a sad sight indeed ! scarce were the victuals half boiled in the pot , but they were ready to break open the cook-room door. To stay their stomachs , the mate gave them biscuits , which were dipped in , and softened with the liquor of the meat, which they call *Breuise* ; telling them , it was for their own safety ; that he was obliged to give them but a little at a time : and so feeding them gradually , their bellies were comfortably filled, and the men did very well again. But when they came to the poor gentlewoman in the cabin, who, for several days, had continued without food, giving what she had to her son , they found her as it were in the arms of death. She was sitting upon the floor of the deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast , and her head shrunk between her shoulders , like a senseless corpse. Nothing was wanting in my mate to revive and encourage her ; opening her lips , and putting some broth into her mouth with a spoon. But not having strength to speak, she lifted up her head with much difficulty, intimating that it was now too late , at the same time pointing to the youth her son , as though she desired him to do what he could to save the lad ; and , in a little after , she died.

The youth , indeed, was not so far gone , yet lay stretched out in a cabin bed , like one that had scarce any life. In his mouth was a piece of an old glove , the rest of which he had ate up. At first he vomited

what the mate had given him ; but a length began sensibly to revive, though in the greatest concern for the death of his tender mother.

As to the poor maid, she lay by her mistress, like one in the last pangs of death : her limbs were distorted, one of her hands was clasped round the frame of a chair, which she griped so hard, that it was with some difficulty we separated her from it : her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin table : not only being starved with hunger, but overcome with grief for the loss of her mistress, whom she loved most tenderly. It was a great while before the surgeon could bring her to life, and a much longer time before she came to her senses.

After we had sailed with them some days, we sent them five barrels of beef, one of pork, two hogheads of biscuit, with pease, flour, and other things ; taking three casks of sugar, some rum, and some pieces of eight for satisfaction, we left them, but took the youth and maid with us, with all their goods. The lad was about seventeen years old, very handsome, modest, sensible, and well bred, but mightily concerned for the loss of his honoured mother, having lost his father at Barbadoes but a few months before. He beseeched the surgeon to intercede with me to take him out of the ship ; for that the sailors, not sparing a small sustenance, had starved his mother. But hunger has no bounds, no right, and consequently is incapable of any compassion. When the surgeon told him, that our voyage might put

him in bad circumstances, and farther from his friends; he answered, he did not care, so he was delivered from that terrible crew: that as the captain (meaning me) had saved him from death, so he was sure he would do him no harm; and as for the maid, when she was restored to her senses, she would be no less thankful, let us carry them where we would. And, indeed, the surgeon so represented their case to me, that I consented, and took them on board, with all their goods, except eleven hogsheads of sugar; but the youth having a bill of lading, I made the commander oblige himself to deliver a letter and the deceased widow's goods to Mr Rogers, a merchant in Bristol; but I believe the ship was lost at sea, for we could never hear what became of her afterwards. We were now in the latitude of 19 deg. 32 min. having as yet a tolerable good voyage. But, passing by several little incidents relating to wind and weather, I shall relate what is most remarkable concerning my little kingdom, to which I was then drawing near. I had great difficulty in finding it; for as I came to, and went from it before, on the south and east side of the island, as coming from the Brazils; so now approaching between the main and the island, not having any chart for the coast, nor land-mark, it obliged us to go on shore several islands on the mouth of the river Oroonoko, but to no purpose. This I perceived, that what I thought was a continent before, was no such thing, but a long island, or rather a ridge of sands. On one of these islands I found some Spaniards, but they

belonged to the Isle de Trinidad, who came hither in a sloop to make salt, and to try to find some pearl muscles. But, at length, I came fair on the south side of my island, and then I presently knew the countenance of my little kingdom, so we brought the ship safe to an anchor, broadside within the little creek, where stood my ancient and venerable castle.

No sooner did I see the place, but calling for *Friday*, I asked him where he was? But when he looked a little, he clapped his hands, crying, *O joy, O there, O yes, O there!* pointing to our old abode, and then fell a dancing and capering as if he was mad, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore. *Friday*, said I, what do you think, shall we go see your father? At the mentioning his father's name, the poor affectionate creature fell a weeping: *No, no*, says he, *me see him no more, never see poor father more! he long ago die, die long ago; he much old man.* You don't know that, *Friday*, said I, but shall we see any body else? He looks about, and pointing to the hill above my house cries out, *We see, we see, there much men and there!* which, though I could not perceive them with my perspective glass, was true, by what the men themselves told me the next day.

When the English ancient was spread, and three guns fired as a signal of friendship, we perceived a smoke rise from the creek; upon which I ordered the boat out, taking *Friday* with me, and hanging out a white flag of truce, I went on shore, accompanied also by the young friar, to whom I had related

ted the history of the first part of my life : besides, we had sixteen men well armed, in case we had met with any opposition.

After we had rowed directly into the creek, the first man I fixed my eye upon, was the Spaniard, whose life I had saved, and whose face I perfectly well knew. I ordered them all to stay in the boat for a while ; but Friday perceiving his father at a distance, would have jumped into the sea, had they not let the boat go. No sooner was he on shore, but he flew like a swift arrow out of a bow, to embrace his aged father. Certainly it would melt a man of the firmest resolution, into the softest tears, to see with what uncommon transports of joy he saluted him : he first kissed him, then stroked his face, took him in his arms, laid him under a shady tree, sat down by him, then looked as earnest at him, as one would do at a picture, for a quarter of an hour together. After this, he would lie upon the ground, stroke his legs, and kiss them, then get up and stare at him, as though he was bewitched : but the next day one could not forbear laughter to see his behaviour, for he would walk several hours with his father along the shore, leading him by the hand, as though he was a lady ; while, every now and then he would run to the boat, to get something for him, as a lump of sugar, dram, biscuit, or something or other that was good. His frolics ran in another channel in the afternoon ; for when he set old Friday on the ground, he would dance round him, making comical postures and gestures : and all this while would

be telling him one story or other of his travels and adventures.

It was on the 10th of April, *anno* 1695, that I set my foot upon the island a second time. When my faithful Spaniard, accompanied by one more, approached the boat, he little knew who I was, till I discovered myself to him: Seignior, said I, in Portuguese, don't you know me? he spoke never a word, but giving his musket to his attendant, extended his arms, and saying something in Spanish, that I did not then understand, he came forward, and embraced me, saying, he was inexcusable, not to know his deliverer; who, like an angel sent from heaven, had saved his life. He then beckoned to the man to call out his companions, asking me, if I would walk to my own habitation; and take possession, where I should find some mean improvements: but indeed they were extraordinary ones; for they had planted so many trees so close together, that the place was like a labyrinth, which none could find out, except themselves, who knew its intricate windings. I asked him the meaning of all these fortifications; he told me he would give me a large account of what had passed since my departure to this time, and how he had subdued some English, who thought to be their murderers, hoping I would not be displeased, since necessity compelled them to it. As I knew they were wicked villains, so I told him, that I was not only far from finding fault with it, but was rather heartily glad that they had subdued them. While we were thus talking, the man whom he had

sent returned, accompanied by eleven more, but in such habits, that it was impossible to tell what nations they were of. He first turned to me, and pointing to them; These, Sir, said he, are some of the gentlemen who owe their lives to your goodness; then turning to them, and pointing to me, he made them sensible who I was: and then indeed they saluted me one by one; not as ordinary men, but as though they had been ambassadors or noblemen, and I a triumphant conqueror; for their behaviour not only agreed with a manlike majestic gravity, but, at the same time was so obliging and courteous, as made them admirable to the last degree.

Before I relate the history of the transactions of my kingdom, as I had it from the Spaniard's own mouth, I must here insert what I omitted in my former relation. The matter is thus: Just before we weighed anchor to set sail, there happened a quarrel on board the ship, which had like to have occasioned a second mutiny, till such time as the courageous captain, taking two of the most refractory prisoners, laid them in irons, threatening, as they were concerned in the former disorders, to have them hanged in England, for running away with the ship. This frightened some of the rest, as thinking the captain would serve them in the same manner, though he seemed to give them good words for the present. But the mate having intelligence of this, made me acquainted with their fears; so that, to make them more easy, and ourselves more safe from their conspiracies, I was obliged to go down, and pass my ho-

nour's word for it, that, upon their good behaviour, all that was past should be pardoned; in testimony of which I ordered the two men's irons to be taken off, and themselves forgiven. But as this had brought us to an anchor that night, in which there was a calm, the two men that had been in irons, stole each of them a musket, and some other weapons, and taking the ship's pinnace, not yet haled up, ran away to their brother rogues. The next morning we sent the long boat, with men to pursue them; but all in vain; the mate, in revenge, would have demolished my little castle, burnt its furniture, and destroyed their plantations; but having no orders for it he did not put it in execution. And thus there were five Englishmen in the island, which caused great differences, as my faithful Spaniard gave me a perfect account of it in the following manner.

You cannot, Sir, but remember the embassy you sent me about, and what a disappointment we met with, by your absence, at our return. There is but little variety in the relation of our voyage, being blessed with calm weather, and smooth sea. Great, indeed, was the joy of my countrymen to see me alive, having acted as the principal man on board, the captain of the shipwrecked vessel dying before; nor was their surprise less, as knowing I was taken prisoner by the savages of another nation, they thought me long since entombed, in their monstrous bowels. But when I shewed them the arms, ammunition, and provisions I had brought for them, they looked upon me as a second Joseph advanced in

Pharaoh's court, and immediately prepared to come along with me. Indeed, they were obliged to trespass upon their friendly savages, by borrowing two of their canoes, under a pretext for fishing: and they came away the next morning, but without any provisions of their own, except a few roots, which served them instead of bread. After three weeks absence, we arrived at your habitation. Here we met with three English sailors, who, I confess, gave us provisions, and that letter of directions you had left for us, which informed us how to bring up tame goats, plant corn, cure grapes, make pots; and, in short, every thing that was necessary for our use; as, in particular, I knew your method best, so taking Friday's father to assist me, we managed all the affairs; nor were the rest of the Spaniards wanting in their kind offices, dressing food for the Englishmen, who did nothing but ramble and divert themselves in the woods, either shooting parrots, or catching tortoises. But we had not been long ashore, before we were informed of two more Englishmen, unnaturally turned out of their common place of residence by the three others above mentioned: this made my Spaniards and me (whom they now looked upon as their governor in your absence) endeavour to persuade them to take them in, that we might be as one family; but all our entreaties were in vain; so that the poor fellows, finding nothing to be done without industry, pitched their tents on the north side of the island, a little inclining to the west, for fear of savages. Here they built two huts, one

to lodge, and the other to lay their stores in; for my good natured Spaniards giving them some seeds, they dug and planted as I had done, and began to live prettily. But while they were thus comfortably going on, the three unnatural brutes, their countrymen, in a mere bullying humour, insulted them, by saying, the governor (meaning you) had given them possession of the island, and d-mn 'em, they should build no houses upon their ground, without paying rent. The two honest men (for so let me now distinguish them) thought their three countrymen only jested, and one of them invited them in, to see their fine habitations; while the other facetiously told them, that since they built tenements, with great improvements, they should, according to the custom of landlords, give them a longer lease; at the same time desiring them to fetch a scrivener to draw the writings. One of the wretches swearing he should pay for the jest, snatches up a fire-brand; and clapping it to the outside of their hut, very fairly set it on fire, which would soon have consumed it, had not the honest man thrust him away, and trod it out with his feet. Hereupon the fellow returns with a pole, with which he would have ended his days, had not the poor man avoided the blow; when, fetching his musket, he knocked down the villain that began the quarrel. The other two coming to assist their fellow, obliged the honest man to take his musket also, and both of them presenting their pieces, bid the villains stand off; and if they did not lay down their arms, death should decide the

dispute one way or other. This brought them to a parley, in which they agreed to take their wounded man and be gone; but they were in the wrong that they did not disarm them when they had the power, and then make their complaint to me and my Spaniards for justice, which might have prevented their farther designs against them. And indeed so many trespasses did they afterwards commit, by treading down their corn, shooting their young kids and goats, and plaguing them night and day, that they resolved to come to my castle, challenge all the three, and decide their right by one plain battle, while the Spaniards stood by to see fair play. One day it happened, that two of my Spaniards (one of whom understood English) being in the woods, were met by one of the honest men, who complained how barbarous their countrymen had been in destroying their corn, killing their milch-goat, and three kids, which deprived them of their subsistence; that if we did not grant them relief, they must be inevitably starved; and so they parted: but when my Spaniards came home at night, and supper being on the table, one of them began to reprehend the Englishmen, but in a very mannerly way; which they resenting, replied, What business had their countrymen there without leave, when it was none of their ground? Why, said my Spaniard, calmly, *Inglese*, they must not starve; but they replied, Let them starve and be d-mn'd, they should neither plant nor build, and d-mn them they should be their servants, and work for them, for the island was theirs,

and they would burn all the huts they should find in the land. By this rule, said my Spaniard, smiling, we shall be your servants too. Aye, by G-d, and so you shall, replied the impudent rascal. Upon which, starting up, Will. Atkins cries, Come, Jack, let's have t'other brush with them; who dare to build in our dominions? Thus leaving us something heated with a just passion, away they trooped, every man having a gun, pistol, and sword, muttering some threatening words, that we could then but imperfectly understand. That night they designed to murder their two companions, and slept till midnight in the bower, thinking to fall upon them in their sleep: nor were the honest men less thoughtful concerning them; for, at this juncture, they were coming to find them out, but in a much fairer way. As soon as the villains came to the huts, and found nobody there, they concluded that I and my Spaniards had given them notice; and therefore swore to be revenged on us. Then they demolished the poor mens habitation; not by fire, as they attempted before, but pulled down their houses, limb from limb, not leaving stick nor stone on the ground where they stood; broke their household stuff in pieces, tore up their trees, spoiled their inclosures, and, in short, quite ruined them of every thing they had. Had these people met together, no doubt but there would have been a bloody battle; but Providence ordered it for the better; for just as the three were got thither, the two were at our castle; and, when they left us, the three came back again, but in a great rage.

scoffingly telling us what they had done; when one taking hold of a Spaniard's hat, twirls it round, saying, *And you, Seignior, Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you don't mend your manners.* My Spaniard, a grave, but courageous man, knocked him down with one blow of his fist; at which another villain fired his pistol, and narrowly missed his body, but wounded him a little in the ear. Hereat enraged, the Spaniard takes up the fellow's musket whom he had knocked down, and would have shot him, if I and the rest had not come out, and taken their arms from every one of them.

These Englishmen, perceiving they had made all of us their enemies, began to cool; but, notwithstanding their better words, the Spaniards would not return them their arms again, telling them, they would do them no manner of harm, if they would live peaceably; but, if they offered any injury to the plantation or castle, they would shoot them as they would do ravenous beasts. This made them so mad, that they went away raging like furies of hell. They were no sooner gone, but in came the two honest men, fired with the justest rage, if such can be, having been ruined as aforesaid. And, indeed, it was very hard, that nineteen of us should be bullied by three villains, continually offending with impunity.

It was a great while, Sir, before we could persuade the two Englishmen from pursuing, and undoubtedly killing them with their fire arms; but we promised them justice should be done them, and in the mean

time they should reside with us in our habitation. In about five days after, these three vagrants, almost starved with hunger, drew near our grove, and perceiving me, the governor, and two others, walking by the side of the creek, they very submissively desired to be received into the family again. We told them of their great incivility to us, and of their unnatural barbarity to their countrymen; but yet we would see what the rest agreed to, and in half an hour's time would bring them word. After some debate, we called them in, where their two countrymen laid a heavy charge against them, for not only ruining, but designing to murder them, which they could not deny. But here I was forced to interpose as a mediator, by obliging the two Englishmen not to hurt them, being naked and unarmed; and that the other three should make them restitution, by building their two huts, and fencing their ground in the same manner as it was before. Well, being in a miserable condition, they submitted to this at present, and lived some time regularly enough, except as to the working part, which they did not care for, but the Spaniards would have dispensed with that, had they continued easy and quiet. Their arms being given them again, they scarce had them a week, when they became as troublesome as ever; but an accident happening soon after, obliged us to lay aside private resentments, and look to our common preservation.

One night, Sir, I went to bed, perfectly well in health, and yet by no means could I compose myself

to sleep. Upon which, being very uneasy, I got up, and looked out; but it being dark, I could perceive nothing but the trees around our castle. I went to bed again; but, it was all one, I could not sleep; when one of my Spaniards, hearing me walk about, asked who it was up? I answered, It is I. When I told him the occasion; Sir, said he, such things are not to be slighted; for certainly there is some mischief plotting near us. Where are the Englishmen? said I. He answered, in their huts; for they lay separate from us, Sir, since the last mutiny. Well, said I, some kind spirit gives this information, for our advantage. Come, let us go abroad, and see if any thing offers to justify our fears. Upon which I and some of my Spaniards went up the mountain, not by the ladder, but through the grove; and then we were struck with a panic fear, on seeing a light, as though it were a fire, at a very little distance, and hearing the voice of several men. Hereupon we retreated immediately, and raising the rest of our forces, made them sensible of the impending danger; but, with all my authority, I could not make them stay where they were, so earnest were they to see how things went. Indeed, the darkness of the night gave them opportunity enough to view them (by the light of the fire) undiscovered. As they were in different parties, and straggling over the shore, we were much afraid that they should find out our habitations, and destroy our flocks of goats. To prevent which, we sent an Englishman and two Spaniards to drive the goats into the valley where the

cave lay ; or , if there was occasion , into the cave itself. As to ourselves, resuming our native courage , and prudent conduct , had we not been divided , we durst venture to attack an hundred of them ; but , before it was yet light, we resolved to send out Friday's father as a spy , who, immediately, stripping himself naked , gets among them undiscovered , and , in two hours time , brings word , that they were two parties of two different nations, who lately having a bloody battle with one another , happened to land , by mere chance, in the same island, to devour their miserable prisoners : That they were entirely ignorant of any person's inhabiting here; but rather, being filled with rage and fury against one another, he believed , that, as soon as day-light appeared, there would be a terrible engagement. Old Friday had scarce ended his relation , when we heard an uncommon noise , and perceived , that there was a horrid engagement between the two armies.

Such was the curiosity of our party , especially the Englishmen , that they would not lie close , though Old Friday told them, their safety depended upon it ; and that , if we had patience , we should behold the savages kill one another. However , they used some caution , by going further into the woods , and placing themselves in a convenient place to behold the battle.

Never could there be a more bloody engagement, nor men of more invincible spirits, and prudent conduct , according to their way and manner of fighting. It lasted near two hours , till that party which was

nearest to our castle began to decline, and, at last, to fly from their conquerors. We were undoubtedly put into a great consternation on this account, lest they should run into our grove, and consequently bring us into the like danger. Hereupon we resolved to kill the first that came, to prevent discovery; and that too with our swords, and the butt end of our muskets, for fear the report of our guns should be heard.

And so indeed, as we thought, it happened: for three of the vanquished army crossing the creek, ran directly to the place, as to a thick wood, for shelter; nor was it long before our scout gave us notice of it; as also, that the victors did not think fit to pursue them. Upon this I would not suffer them to be slain; but had them surpris'd and taken by our party: and afterwards they proved very good servants to us, being stout young creatures, and able to do a great deal of work. The remainder of the conquered savages fled to their canoes, and put out into the ocean, while the conquerors, joining together, shout-ed by way of triumph: and about three in the afternoon, they also embarked for their own nation. Thus we were freed at once from the savages and our fears, not perceiving any of these creatures for some considerable time after. We found two and thirty men dead in the field of battle; some were slain with long arrows, which we found sticking in their bodies; and the rest were killed with great un-weildy wooden swords, which denoted their vast strength, and of which we found seventeen, besides

bows and arrows: but we could not find one wounded creature among them alive; for they either kill their enemies quite, or carry those wounded away with them.

This terrible fight tamed the Englishmen for some time, considering how unfortunate they might have been, had they fallen into their hands, who would not only kill them as enemies, but also for food, as we do cattle; and, indeed, so much did this nauseate their stomachs, that it not only made them very sick, but more tractable to the common necessary business of the whole society, planting, sowing, and reaping, with the greatest signs of amity and friendship: so that now, being all good friends, we began to consider of circumstances in general; and the first thing we thought of, was, whether, as we perceived, the savages haunted that side of the island, and there being more retired parts of it, and yet as well suited to our manner of living, and equally to our advantage, we ought not rather to move our place of residence, and plant it in a much safer place, both for the security of our corn and cattle.

After a long debate on this head, it was resolved, or rather voted, *nemine contradicente*, not to remove our ancient castle, and that for this very good reason, that, some time or other, we expected to hear from our supreme governor, (meaning you, Sir) whose messengers not finding us there, might think the place demolished, and all his subjects destroyed by the savages.

As to the next concern, relating to our corn and,

cattle, we consented to have them removed to the valley where the cave was, that being most proper and sufficient for both. But yet, when we considered further, we altered one part of our resolution; which was, to remove part of our cattle thither, and plant only part of our corn there; so that in case one part was destroyed, the other might be preserved. Another resolution we took, which really had a great deal of prudence in it; and that was, in not trusting the three savages whom we had taken prisoners, with any knowledge of the plantations which we had made in that valley, of what number of cattle we had there, much less of the cave, wherein were kept several arms, and two barrels of powder you left for us, at your departure from this island. But though we would not change our habitation, we resolved to make it more fortified, and more secret. To this end, Sir, as you had planted trees at some distance before the entrance of your palace; so we, imitating your example, planted and filled up the whole space of ground, even to the banks of the creek, nay, into the very ooze, where the tide flowed, not leaving a place for landing: and among those I had planted, they had intermingled so many short ones, all of which growing wonderfully fast and thick, a little dog scarcely could find a passage through them. Nor was this sufficient, as we thought; for we did the same to all the ground, to the right and left hand of us, even to the top of the hill, without so much as leaving a passage for ourselves, except by the ladder: which being taken down, nothing but what had

wings or witchcraft could pretend to come near us. And, indeed, this was exceedingly well contrived, especially to serve that occasion, for which we afterwards found it necessary.

Thus we lived two years in a happy retirement, having, all this time, not one visit from the savages. Indeed, one morning, we had an alarm, which put us in some amazement; for a few of my Spaniards being out very early, perceived no less than twenty canoes, as it were coming on shore; upon which returning home, with great precipitation, they gave us the alarm, which obliged us to keep at home all that day, and the next, going out only in the night-time, to make our observations: but, as good luck would have it, they were upon another design, and did not land that time upon the island.

But now there happened another quarrel between the three wicked Englishmen, and some of my Spaniards. The occasion was this: One of them being enraged at one of the savages, whom he had taken prisoner, for not being able to comprehend something which he was shewing him, snatched up a hatchet in a great fury, not to correct, but to kill him; yet missing his head, gave him such a barbarous cut in the shoulder, that he had like to have struck off his arm; at which one of my good-natured Spaniards interposing between the Englishman and savage, beseeched the former not to murder the poor creature; but this kindness had like to have cost the Spaniard his life, for the Englishman struck at him in the same manner; which he nimbly and

wisely avoiding, returned suddenly upon him with his shovel, (being all at work about their corn-land), and very fairly knocked the brutish creature down. Hereupon, another Englishman, coming to his fellow's assistance, laid the good Spaniard on the earth; when immediately two others coming to his relief, were attacked by the third Englishman, armed with an old cutlass, who wounded them both. This uproar soon reached our ears, when we, rushing out upon them, took the three Englishmen prisoners: and then our next question was, what should be done to such mutinous and impudent fellows, so furious, desperate, and idle, that they were mischievous to the highest degree, and consequently not safe for the society to let them live among them.

Now, Sir, as I was governor in your absence, so I also took the authority of a judge; and, having them brought before me, I told them, that if they had been of my country, I would have hanged every mother's son of them; but, since it was an Englishman (meaning you, kind Sir) to whom we were indebted for our preservation and deliverance, I would in gratitude, use them with all possible mildness; but, at the same time, leave them to the judgment of the other two Englishmen, who, I hoped, forgetting their resentments, would deal impartially by them.

Hereupon, one of his countrymen stood up: Sir, said he, *leave it not to us, for you may be sensible we have reason to sentence them to the gallows: besides, Sir, this fellow, Will. Atkins, and the two others, proposed to us, that we might murder you all in your*

sleep, which we would not consent to; but, knowing their inability, and your vigilance, we did not think fit to discover it before now.

How, Seignior, said I, do you hear what is alledged against you? What can you say to justify so horrid an action, as to murder us in cold blood? So far, Sir, was the wretch from denying it, that he swore, d—n him but he would do it still. But what have we done to you, Seignior Atkins, said I, or what will you gain by killing us? What shall we do to prevent you? Must we kill you, or you kill us? Why will you, Seignior Atkins, (said I smiling), put us to such an unhappy dilemma, such a fatal necessity? But so great a rage did my scoffing, and yet severe jest, put him into, that he was going to fly at me, and undoubtedly had attempted to kill me if he had been possessed of weapons, and had not been prevented by three Spaniards. This unparalleled and villainous carriage, made us seriously consider what was to be done. The two Englishmen and the Spaniard, who had saved the poor Indian's life, mightily petitioned me to hang one of them, for an example to the others, which should be him that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet, it being at that time thought impossible the poor slave should recover. But they could never gain my consent to put him to death, for the reasons above mentioned, since it was an Englishman (even yourself) who was my deliverer: and as merciful counsels are most prevailing, when earnestly pressed, so I got them to be of the same opinion as to clemency. But to prevent

their doing us any farther mischief, we all agreed; that they should have no weapons, as sword, gun, powder, or shot, but be expelled from the society, to live as they pleased, by themselves; that neither the two Englishmen, nor the rest of the Spaniards, should have conversation with them upon any account whatsoever: that they should be kept from coming within a certain distance of our castle; and if they dared to offer us any violence, either by spoiling, burning, killing, or destroying any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, we would shoot them as freely as we would do beasts of prey, in whatsoever places we should find them.

This sentence seemed very just to all but themselves; when, like a merciful judge, I called out to the two honest Englishmen, saying, You must consider they ought not to be starved neither; and since it will be some time before they can raise corn and cattle of their own, let us give them some corn to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they'll raise some for themselves: let us also bestow upon them six milch-goats, four he-ones, and six kids, as well for their present support, as for a further increase; with tools necessary for their work, as hatchets, an axe, saw, and other things convenient to build them huts: all which were agreed to; but before they took them in possession, I obliged them solemnly to swear, never to attempt any thing against us or their countrymen for the future. Thus dismissing them from our society, they went away, sullen and refractory, as though neither willing to go

nor stay : however , seeing no remedy , they took what provision was given them , proposing to chuse a convenient place , where they might live by themselves.

About five days after , they came to those limits appointed , in order for more victuals , and sent me word by one of my Spaniards , whom they called to , where they had pitched their tents , and marked themselves out an habitation , and plantation , at the N. E. and most remote part of the island. And indeed there they built themselves two very handsome cottages , resembling our little castle , being under the side of a mountain , with some trees already growing on three sides of it ; so that planting a few more , it would be obscured from sight , unless particularly sought for. When these huts were finished , we gave them some dry goat skins for bedding and covering ; and upon their giving us fuller assurances of their good behaviour for the future , we gave them some pease , barley , and rice for sowing , and whatever tools we could spare.

Six months did they live in this separate condition , in which they got their first harvest in , the quantity of which was but small , because they had planted but little land : for indeed , all their plantations being to form , made it the more difficult , especially as it was a thing out of their element : and when they were obliged to make their boards and pots &c. they could make little or nothing of it. But the rainy season coming on , put them into a greater perplexity for want of a cave to keep their corn dry , and prevent

it from spoiling : and so much did this humble them, that they begged of my Spaniards to help them, to which the good-natured men readily consented, and, in four days space, worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, large enough for their purpose, to secure their corn and other things from the rain, tho' not comparable to ours, which had several additional apartments.

But a new whim possessed these rogues about three quarters of a year after, which had like to have ruined us, and themselves too ; for, it seems being tired and weary of this sort of living, which made them work for themselves, without hopes of changing their condition, nothing would serve them, but they would make a voyage to the continent, and try if they could seize upon some of the savages, and bring them over as slaves, to do their drudgery, while they lived at ease and pleasure.

Indeed the project was not so preposterous, if they had not gone farther ; but they neither did, nor proposed any thing, but what had mischief in the design, or the event. One morning, these three fellows came down to the limited station, and humbly desired to be admitted to talk with us, which we readily granted ; they told us, in short, that, being tired of their manner of living and the labour of their hands, in such employments, not being sufficient to procure the necessaries of life, they only desired one of the canoes we came over in, with some arms and ammunition, for their defence, and they would seek their fortunes abroad, and never trouble us any more.

To be sure, we were glad enough to get rid of such wretched plagues; but yet honesty made us ingenuously represent to them, by what we ourselves had suffered, the certain destruction they were running into, either of being starved to death, or murdered by the savages. To this they very audaciously replied, that they neither could nor would work; and consequently, that they might as well be starved abroad as at home: and as to their falling into the hands of the savages, why, if they were murdered, that was nothing to us, there was an end of them; neither had they any wives or children to cry after them; nay, so intent were they upon their voyage, that if the Spaniards had not given them arms, so they had but the canoe, they would have gone without them.

Though we could not well spare our fire-arms, rather than they should go like naked men, we let them have two muskets, a pistol, a cutlass, and three hatchets, which were thought very sufficient: we gave them also goats flesh a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot of fresh butter, a young live kid, and a large canoe sufficient to carry twenty men. And thus, with a mast, made of a long pole, and a sail of six large goats skins dried; having a fair breeze, and a flood tide with them, they merrily sailed away, the Spaniards calling after them *Bon veyajo*, no man ever expecting to see them more.

When they were gone, the Spaniards and Englishmen would often say one to another, *O how peaceably do we now live, since those turbulent fellows have*

Left us ? Nothing could be farther from their thoughts, than to behold their faces any more ; and yet scarce two and twenty days had passed over their heads, but one of the Englishmen, being abroad a-planting, perceived, at a distance, three men, well armed, approaching towards him. Away he flies with speed to our castle, and tells me and the rest, that we were all undone, for that strangers were landed upon the island, and who they were he could not tell ; but added, that they were not savages, but men habited, bearing arms. Why then, said I, we have the less occasion to be concerned, since, if they are not Indians, they must be friends ; for I am sure there is no Christian people upon earth, but what will do us good rather than harm. But while we were considering of the event, up came the three Englishmen, whose voices we quickly knew, and so all our admiration of that nature ceased at once. And our wonder was succeeded by another sort of enquiry, which was, what could be the occasion of their returning so quickly to the island, when we little expected, and much less desired their company ? But as this was better to be related by themselves, I ordered them to be brought in, when they gave me the following relation of their voyage.

: After two days sail, or something less, they reached land, where they found the people coming to give them another sort of reception than what they expected or desired : for as the savages were armed with bows and arrows : they durst not venture on shore, but steered northward, six or seven hours, till

they gained an opening, by which they plainly perceived, that the land that appeared from this place, was not the main land, but the island. At their entrance into the opening of the sea, they discovered another island, on the right hand northward, and several more lying to the westward; but being resolved to go on shore some where or other, they put over to one of the western islands. Here they found the natives very courteous to them, giving them several roots and dried fish; nay, even their women too were as willing to supply them with what they could procure them to eat, bringing it a great way to them upon their heads. Among these hospitable Indians they continued some days enquiring by signs and tokens, what nations lay around them; and were informed, that there were several fierce and terrible people lived every way, accustomed to eat mankind: but for themselves, they never used such diet, except those that were taken in battle, and of them they made a solemn feast.

The Englishmen enquired how long it was since they had a feast of that kind? they answered, about two moons ago pointing to the moon; and then to two fingers; that, at this time, their king had two hundred prisoners, which were fattening up for the slaughter. The Englishmen were mighty desirous of seeing the prisoners, which the others mistaking, thought that they wanted some of them for their own food: upon which they beckoned to them, pointing to the rising, and then to the setting of the sun; meaning, that by the time that it appeared in the east

next

next morning they would bring them some : and indeed they were as good as their word ; for by that time they brought eleven men and five women , just as so many cows and oxen are brought to sea port towns , to victual a ship. But as brutish as these Englishmen were , their stomachs turned at the sight. What to do in this case , they could not tell : to refuse the prisoners , would have been the highest affront offered to the savage gentry ; and to dispose of them , they knew not in what manner : however , they resolved to accept them , and so gave them , in return , one of their hatchets , an old key , a knife , and six or seven of their bullets : things which tho' they were wholly ignorant of , yet seemed entirely contented with ; and dragging the poor wretches into the boat , with their hands bound behind them , delivered them to the Englishmen. But this obliged them to put off as soon as they had these presents , lest the donors should have expected two or three of them to be killed , and to be invited to dinner the next day : and so taking leave with all possible respect and thanks , though neither of them understood what the others said , they sailed away back to the first island , and there set eight of the prisoners at liberty. In their voyage they endeavoured to comfort , and have some conversation with the poor captives ; but it was impossible to make them sensible of any thing ; and nothing they could say , or give or do for them , could make them otherwise persuaded , but that they were unbound only to be devoured : if they gave them any food , they thought it was only

to fatten them for the slaughter ; or looked at any one more particularly , the poor creature supposed itself to be the first sacrifice ; and even when we brought them to our island , and began to use them with the greatest humanity and kindness , yet they expected every day that their new masters would devour them.

And thus , Sir , did these three strange wanderers conclude their unaccountable relation of their voyage which was both amazing and entertaining. Hereupon , I asked them , where their new family was ? They told me , they had put them into one of their huts , and they came to beg some victuals for them. This , indeed , made us all long to see them ; and taking Friday's father with us , leaving only two at our castle , we came down to behold these poor creatures.

When we arrived at the hut , (they being bound again by the Englishmen , for fear of escaping) , we found them stark naked , expecting their fatal tragedy : there were three lusty men , well shaped , with straight and fair limbs , between thirty and five and thirty years old ; and five women , two of them might be from thirty to forty , two more not above four and twenty ; and the last a comely tall maiden of about seventeen. Indeed , all the women were very agreeable , both in their proportion and features , except that they were tawny , which their modest behaviour and other graces , made amends for , when they afterwards came to be clothed.

This naked appearance , together with their miser-

able circumstances, was no very comfortable sight to my Spaniards, who, for their parts, I may venture, Sir, without flattery, to say, are men of the best behaviour, calmest tempers, and sweetest nature, that can possibly be; for they immediately ordered Friday's father to see if he knew any of them, or if he understood what they could say. No sooner did the old Indian appear, but he looked at them with great seriousness; yet, as they were not of his nation, they were utter strangers to him, and none could understand his speech or signs, but one woman. This was enough to answer the design, which was to assure them they would not be killed, being fallen into the hands of Christians, who abhorred such barbarity. When they were fully satisfied of this, they expressed their joy by such strange gestures, and uncommon tones, as it is not possible for to me describe. But the woman, their interpreter, was ordered next to inquire, whether they were content to be servants, and would work for the men, who had brought them hither to save their lives? Hereupon, (being at this time unbound) they fell a capering and dancing, one taking this thing upon her shoulders, and the other that, intimating, that they were willing to do any thing for them. But now, Sir, having women among us, and dreading that it might occasion some strife, if not blood, I asked the three men what they would do, and how they intended to use these creatures, whether as servants or women? One of them very pertly and readily answered, they would use them as

both. Gentlemen , said I , as you are your own masters , I am not going to restrain you from that ; but , methinks , for avoiding dissentions among you , I would only desire you to engage , that none of you will take more than one for a woman or a wife , and that having taken this one , none else should presume to touch her ; for though we have not a priestly authority to marry you , yet it is but reasonable , that whoever thus takes a woman , should be obliged to maintain her : since nobody else has any thing to do with her : and this , indeed , appeared so just to all present , that it was unanimously agreed to. The Englishmen then asked my Spaniards , whether they designed to take any of them ? but they answered , No ; some declaring they had already wives in Spain ; and others , that they cared not to join with infidels. On the reverse , the Englishmen took each of them a temporary wife , and so set up a new method of living. As to Friday's father , the Spaniards , and the three savage servants we had taken in the late battle , they all lived with me in our ancient castle ; and indeed we supplied the main part of the island with food , as necessity required. But the most remarkable part of the story is , how these Englishmen , who had been so much at variance , should agree about the choice of these women ; yet they took a way good enough to prevent quarreling among themselves. They set the five women in one of their huts , and going themselves to the other , drew lots which should have the first choice. Now , he that had the first lot went to the hut , and fetched

out her he chose , and it is remarkable , that he took her that was the most homely and eldest of the number , which made the rest of the Englishmen exceeding merry ; the Spaniards themselves could not but smile at it : but , as it happened , the fellow had the best thought , in chusing one fit for application and business : and indeed she proved the best wife of all the parcel.

But when the poor creatures perceived themselves placed in a row , and separated one by one , they were again seized with an unspeakable terror , as now thinking they were going to be slain in earnest : and when the Englishman came to take the first , the rest set up a lamentable cry , clasped their arms around her neck , and hanging about her , took their last farewell , as they thought , in such trembling agonies , and affectionate embraces , as would have softened the hardest heart in the world , and made the dryest eyes melt into tears ; nor could they be persuaded , but that they were going to die , till such time as Friday's father made them sensible that the Englishmen had chosen them for their wives , which ended all their terror and concern upon this occasion.

Well , after this , the Englishmen went to work , and being assisted by my good natured Spaniards , in a few hours they erected every one of them a new hut or tent , for their separate lodging , since those they had already were filled with tools , household stuff , and provision. They all continued on the north shore of the island , but separate as before ;

the three wicked ones pitching farther off, and the two honest men nearer our castle; so that the island seemed to be peopled in three places, three towns beginning to be built for that purpose. And here I cannot but remark, what is very common, that the two honest men had the worst wives, (I mean as to industry, cleanliness, and ingenuity), while the three reprobates enjoyed women of quite contrary qualities.

But another observation I made was, in favour of the two honest men, to shew what disparity there is between a diligent application to business, on the one hand, and a slothful, negligent, and idle temper, on the other. Both of them had the same parcel of ground laid out, and corn to sow, sufficient for them; but both did not make the same improvements, either in their cultivation or in their planting. The two honest men had a multitude of young trees planted about their habitations, so that when you approached near them, nothing appeared but a wood, very pleasing and delightful. Every thing they did prospered and flourished; their grapes planted in order, seemed as though managed in a vineyard, and were infinitely preferable to any of the others. Nor were they wanting to find out a place of retreat, but dug a cave in the most retired part of a thick wood, to secure their wives and children, with their provision, and chiefest goods, surrounded with innumerable stakes, and having a most subtle entrance, in case any mischief should happen, either from their fellow countrymen, or the devouring savages.

As to the reprobates, (though I must own they were much more civilized than before), instead of a delightful wood surrounding their dwellings, we found the words of King Solomon too truly verified; *I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was all overgrown with thorns.* In many places their crop was obscured by weeds; the hedges having several gaps in them, the wild goats had got in, and eaten up the corn, and here and there was a dead bush, to stop in those gaps for the present, which was no more than shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen away. But as to their wives, they (as I observed before) were more diligent, and cleanly enough, especially in their victuals, being instructed by one of the honest men, who had been a cook's mate on board a ship: and very well it was so; for as he cooked himself, his companion and their families lived as well as the idle husbands, who did nothing but loiter about, fetch turtles eggs, catch fish and birds, and do any thing but work, and lived accordingly; while the diligent lived very handsomely and plentifully, in the most comfortable manner.

And now, Sir, I come to lay before your eyes, a scene quite different from any thing that ever happened to us before, and perhaps ever befel you in all the time of your residence on this island. I shall inform you of its original in the following manner.

One morning, Sir, very early, there came five or six canoes of Indians on shore, indisputably upon their old custom of devouring their prisoners. All

that we had to do upon such an occasion, was to lie concealed, that they, not having any notice of inhabitants, might depart quietly, after performing their bloody execution: whoever first discovered the savages, was to give notice to all the three plantations to keep within doors, and then a proper scout was to be placed to give intelligence of their departure. But, notwithstanding these wise measures, an unhappy disaster discovered us to the savages, which was like to have caused the desolation of the whole island: for, after the savages were gone off in their canoes, some of my Spaniards and I looking abroad, and being inflamed with a curiosity to see what they had been doing, to our great amazement, beheld three savages fast asleep on the ground, who, either being gorged, could not awake when the others went off, or having wandered too far into the woods, did not come back in time.

What to do with them at first, we could not tell; as for slaves, we had enough of them already; and as to killing them, neither Christianity nor humanity would suffer us to shed the blood of persons who never did us wrong. We perceived they had no boat left them to transport them into their own nation; and that, by letting them wander about, they might discover us, and inform the first savages that should happen to land upon the same bloody occasion, which information might entirely ruin us; and therefore I counselled my Spaniards to secure them, and set them about some work or other, till we could better dispose of them.

Hereupon we all went back , and making them awake , took them prisoners. It is impossible to express the horror they were in, especially when bound as thinking they were going to be murdered and eaten , but we soon eased them of their fear as to that point. We first took them to the bower , where the chief of our country-work lay , as keeping goats, planting corn , &c. and then carried them to the two Englishmens habitation , to help them in their business : but happy it was for us all , we did not carry them to our castle , as by the sequel will appear. The Englishmen , indeed, found them work to do ; but whether they did not guard them strictly , or that they thought they could not better themselves , I cannot tell ; but certainly one of them ran away into the woods , and they could not hear of him for a long time after.

Undoubtedly, there was reason enough to suppose he got home in some of the canoes , the savages returning in about four weeks time , and going off in the space of two days. You may be certain , Sir , this thought could not but terrify us exceedingly , and make us justly conclude , that this savage would inform his countrymen of our abode in the island , how few and weak we were in comparison to their numbers ; and we expected it would not be long before the Englishmen would be attacked in their habitations : but the savages had not seen their places of safety in the woods , nor our castle , which it was a great happiness they did not know.

Nor were we mistaken in our thoughts upon this

occasion ; for , about eight months after this , six canoes , with about ten men in each canoe , came sailing by the north side of the island , which they were never accustomed to do before , and landed about an hour after sun-rise , near a mile from the dwelling of the two Englishmen , who , it seems , had the good fortune to discover them about a league off ; so that it was an hour before they could attain the shore , and some longer time before they could come at them. And now , being confirmed in this opinion , that they were certainly betrayed , they immediately bound the two slaves which were left , causing two of the three men , whom they brought with the women , and who proved very faithful , to lead them with their wives , and other conveniencies into their retired cave in the wood , and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot , till they had further orders. They then opened their fences , where they kept their milch goats , and drove them all out , giving the goats liberty to ramble in the woods , to make the savages believe that they were wild ones ; but the slave had given a truer information , which made them come to the very inclosures. The two frightened men sent the other slave of the three , who had been with them by accident , to alarm the Spaniards , and desire their assistance ; in the mean time , they took their arms and ammunition , and made to the cave where they had sent their wives , and securing their slaves , seated themselves in a private place , from whence they might behold all the actions of the savages. Nor had they gone far , when ascending a rising ground ,

they could see a little army of Indians approach to their beautiful dwelling, and, in a few moments more, perceive the same, and their furniture, to their unspeakable grief, burning in a consuming flame: and when this was done, they spread here and there, searching every bush and place for the people, of whom, it was very evident, they had information. Upon which the two Englishmen, not thinking themselves secure where they stood, retreated about half a mile higher in the country, rightly concluding, that the farther the savages strolled, there would be lesser numbers together: upon which they next took their stand by the trunk of an old tree, very hollow and large, whence they resolved to see what would offer; but they had not stood long there, before two savages came running directly towards them, as though having knowledge of their being there, who seemed resolved to attack them; a little farther were three more, and five more behind them again, all running the same way. It cannot be imagined what perplexity the poor men were in at this sight, thinking that if assistance did not speedily come, their cave in the wood would be discovered, and consequently all therein lost: so they resolved to resist them there, and, when overpowered, to ascend to the top of the trees, where they might defend themselves as long as their ammunition lasted, and sell their lives as dear as possible to those devouring savages. Thus fixed in their resolution, they next considered, whether they should fire at the first two, or wait for the three, and so take the middle party,

by which the two first and the five last would be separated. In this regulation the two savages also confirmed them, by turning a little to another part of the wood ; but the three, and the five after them, came directly towards the tree. Hereupon they resolved to take them in a direct line, as they approached nearer, because perhaps the first shot might hit them all three ; and, upon this occasion, the man who was to fire, charged his piece with three or four bullets. And thus, while they were waiting, the savages came on, one of them was the runaway who had caused all the mischief ; so they resolved he should not escape, if they both fired at once. But however, though they did not fire together, they were ready charged ; when the first that let fly, was too good a marksman to miss his aim ; for he killed the foremost outright, the second (who was the runaway Indian) fell on the ground, being shot through the body, but not dead, and the third was a little wounded on the shoulder, who, sitting down on the ground, fell a screaming in a most fearful manner. The noise of the guns, which not only made the most resounding echoes, from one side to another, but raised the birds of all sorts, fluttering with the most confused noise, so much terrified the five savages behind, that they stood still at first like so many inanimate images. But when all things were in profound silence, they came to the place where their companions lay ; and here, not being sensible that they were liable to the same fate, stood over the wounded man, undoubtedly enquiring the occasion of his sad

calamity ; and, 'tis as reatonable to suppose , he told them , that it came by thunder and lightening from the gods , having never seen nor heard of a gun before , in the whole course of their lives. By this time the Englishmen , having loaded their pieces , fired both together a second time, when seeing them all fall immediately on the ground , they thought they had killed every creature of them. This made them come up boldly before they had charged their guns, which , indeed , was a wrong step ; for , when they came to the place , they found four alive , two of them very little wounded , and one not at all , which obliged them to fall upon them with their muskets : they first knocked the runaway savage on the head , and another that was but a little wounded in the arm , and then put the other languishing wretches out of their pain : while he that was not hurt , with bending knees, and uplifted hands , made piteous moans, and signs to them to spare his life : nor, indeed, were they unmerciful to the poor wretch, but pointed to him to sit down at the root of a tree hard by ; and then , one of the Englishmen , with a piece of rope twine he had in his pocket by mere chance, tying his two feet fast together , and his two hands behind him , they left him there , making all the haste they could after the other two, fearing they should find out their cave ; but though they could not overtake them , they had the satisfaction to perceive them , at a distance , cross a valley towards the sea , a quite contrary way to their retreat ; upon which they returned to the tree , to look after their

prisoner ; but when they came there , he was gone , leaving the pieces of rope-yarn wherewith he was bound , behind him.

Well, now they were as much concerned as ever, as not knowing how near their enemies might be, or in what numbers. Immediately they repaired to their cave , to see if all was well there , and found every thing safe except the women , who were frightened upon their husbands account, whom now they loved entirely: They had not been long here, before seven of my Spaniards came to assist them ; while the other ten, their servants, and Friday's father, were gone to defend their bower , corn and cattle, in case the savages should have rambled so far. There accompanied the seven Spaniards , one of the three savages that had formerly been taken prisoner ; and with them also , that very Indian whom the Englishmen had, a little before, left under the tree ; for, it seems, they passed by that way where the slaughter was made , and so carried along with them that poor wretch that was left bound. But so many prisoners now becoming a burthen to us , and fearing the dreadful consequence of their escaping , most of the Spaniards and English urged the absolute necessity there was of killing them for our common preservation : but, Sir , the authority I bore , as a governor , over-ruled that piece of cruelty ; and then I ordered them to be sent prisoners to the old cave in the valley, bound hands and feet , with two Spaniards to guard them.

So much encouraged were the Englishmen at the

approach of the Spaniards, and so great was their fury against the savages, for destroying their habitations, that they had not patience to stay any longer; but, taking five Spaniards along with them, armed with four muskets, a pistol, and a quarter-staff, away they went in pursuit of their enemies. As they passed by the place where the savages were slain, it was very easy to be perceived that more of them had been there, having attempted to carry off their dead bodies, but found it impracticable. From a rising ground, our party had the mortification to see the smoke that proceeded from the ruins; when coming farther in sight of the shore, they plainly perceived that the savages had embarked in their canoes, and were putting out to sea. This they were very sorry for, there being no coming at them to give them a parting salute; but, however, they were glad enough to get clear of such unwelcome guests.

Thus the two honest, but unfortunate, Englishmen, being ruined a second time, and their improvements quite destroyed, most of my good-natured Spaniards helped them to rebuild, and we all assisted them with needful supplies; nay, what is more remarkable, their three mischievous countrymen, when they heard it, (which was after all these disasters were over, they living remote eastward) very friendly sympathised with them, and worked for them several days: so that, in a little time, their habitation was rebuilt, their necessities supplied, and themselves restored to their former tranquillity.

Though the savages had nothing to boast of in

this adventure, (several canoes being driven ashore, followed by two drowned creatures, having undoubtedly met with a storm at sea that very night they departed) yet it was natural to be supposed, that those whose better fortune it was to attain their native shore, would inflame their notion to another ruinous attempt, with a greater force, to carry all before them. And, indeed, so it happened; for, about seven months after, our island was invaded with a most formidable navy, no less than eight and twenty canoes full of savages, armed with wooden swords, monstrous clubs, bows and arrows, and such like instruments of war, landing at the east side of the island.

You may well, Sir, imagine, what consternation our men were in upon this account, and how speedy they were to execute their resolution, having only that night's time allowed them. They knew, that since they could not withstand their enemies, concealment was the only way to procure their safety: and, therefore, they took down the huts that were built for the two Englishmen, and drove their flock of goats, together with their own at the bower, to the old cave in the valley, leaving as little appearance of inhabitants as possible; and then posted themselves, with all their force, at the plantation of the two men. As they expected, so it happened; for, early the next morning, the Indians, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came running along the shore, about two hundred and fifty in number, as near as could be guessed. Our army was but little indeed;

and what was our greater misfortune, we had not arms sufficient for them. The account, as to the men, Sir, is as follows :

17 Spaniards.	To arm these, they had	11 Muskets.
5 Englishmen.		5 Pistols.
1 Old Friday.		3 Fowling-pieces.
3 The three savages, taken with the women, who proved faithful servants.		2 Swords.
3 Other slaves, living with the Spaniards.		3 Old halberts.
		5 Muskets, or fowling-pieces, taken from the sailors whom you reduced.

As to our slaves, we gave three of them halberts, and the other three long staves, with great iron spikes at the end of them, with hatchets by their sides: we also had hatchets sticking in our girdles, besides the fire-arms: nay, two of the women, inspired with Amazonian fortitude, could not be dissuaded from fighting along with their dearest husbands, and if they died, to die with them. Seeing their resolution, we gave them hatchets likewise; but what pleased them best, were the bows and arrows (which they dexterously knew how to use) that the Indians had left behind them, after their memorable battle one against another.

Over this army, which, though little, was of great intrepidity. I was constituted chief general and commander; and knowing *Will. Atkins*, though exceeding wicked, yet a man of invincible courage, I gave him the power of commanding under me: he and

six men, with their muskets loaded, with six or seven bullets a-piece, were planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, having orders to let the first pass by; and then, when he fired into the middle of them, make a nimble retreat round part of the wood, and so come in the rear of the Spaniards, who were shaded by a thicket of trees: for though the savages came on with the fierceness of lions, yet they wanted the subtilty of foxes, being out of all manner of order, and straggling in heaps every way: and, indeed, when Will. Atkins, after fifty of the savages had passed by, had ordered three of his men to give fire, so great was their consternation, to see so many men killed and wounded, and hear such a dreadful noise, and yet not know whence it came, that they were frightened to the highest degree; and when the second volley was given, they concluded no less but that their companions were slain by thunder and lightening from heaven. In this notion they would have continued, had Will. Atkins and his men retired, as soon as they fired, according to order: or had the rest been near them, to pour in their shot continually, there might have been a complete victory obtained; but staying to load their pieces again, discovered the whole matter. They were perceived by some of the scattering savages at a distance, who let fly their arrows among them, wounded Atkins himself, and killed his fellow Englishman, and one of the Indians taken with the women. Our party did not fail to answer them, and in their retreat killed about twenty savages. Here I can-

not but take notice of our poor dying slave, who, tho' stopt from his retreat by a fatal arrow, yet with his staff and hatchet desperately and gallantly assailed the pursuers, and killed five of the savages, before his life submitted to a multiplicity of wounds. Nor is the cruelty or malice of the Indians to be less remarked, in breaking the arms, legs, and heads of the two dead bodies with their clubs and wooden swords, after a most wretched manner. As Atkins retreated, our party advanced, to interpose between him and the savages; but, after three volleys, we were obliged to retreat also: for they were so numerous and desperate, that they came up to our very teeth, shot their arrows like a cloud, and their wounded men, enraged with cruel pain, fought like madmen. They did not, however, think fit to follow us, but drawing themselves up in a circle, they gave two triumphant shouts in token of victory, though they had the grief to see several of their wounded men bleed to death before them.

After I had, Sir, drawn up our little army together upon a rising ground, Atkins, wounded as he was, would have had us attack the whole body of the savages at once. I was extremely well pleased with the gallantry of the man; but, upon consideration, I replied, *You perceive, Seignior Atkins, how their wounded men fight; let them alone till morning, when they will be faint, stiff, and sore, and then we shall have fewer to combat with.* To which *Will. Atkins*, smiling replied, *That's very true, Seignior, and so shall I too; and that's the reason I would fight them*

now I am warm. We all answered, Seignior Atkins, for your part, you have behaved very gallantly; and, if you are not able to approach the enemy in the morning, we will fight for you, till then we think it convenient to wait, and so we tarried.

By the brightness of the moon that night, we perceived the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men. This made us change our resolution; and resolve to fall upon them in the night, if we could give them one volley undiscovered. This we had a fair opportunity to do, by one of the two Englishmen's leading us round, between the woods and the sea-side westward, and turning short south, came privately to a place where the thickest of them were. Unheard and unperceived, eight of us fired among them; and did dreadful execution; and, in half a minute after, eight more of us let fly, killing and wounding abundance of them; and then dividing ourselves into three bodies, eight persons in each body, we marched from among the trees to the very teeth of the enemy, sending forth the greatest shouts and acclamations. The savages hearing a different noise from three quarters at once, stood in the utmost confusion; but coming in sight of us, let fly a volley of arrows, which wounded poor old Friday, yet happily it did not prove mortal. We did not, however, give them a second opportunity; but rushing in among them, we fired three several ways, and then fell to work with our swords, staves, hatchets, and the butt end of our muskets, with a fury not to be resisted; so that, with the most dismal screaming and

howling, they had recourse to their feet, to save their lives by a speedy flight. Nor must we forget the valour of the two women; for they exposed themselves to the greatest dangers, killed many with their arrows, and valiantly destroyed several more with their hatchets.

In fighting these two battles, we were so much tired, that we did not then trouble ourselves to pursue them to their canoes, in which we thought they would presently put to the ocean; but there happening a dreadful storm at sea, which continuing all that night, it not only prevented their voyage, but dashed several of their boats to pieces against the beach, and drove the rest so high upon the shore, that it required infinite pains to get them off. After our men had taken some refreshment and a little repose, they resolved early in the morning to go towards the place of their landing, and see whether they were gone off, or in what posture they remained. This necessarily led them to the place of battle, where several of the savages were expiring: a sight no way pleasing to generous minds, to delight in their misery, though obliged to conquer them by the law of arms: but our own Indian slaves put them out of their pain, by dispatching them with their hatchets. At length, coming in view of the remainder of their army, we found them leaning upon their knees, which were bended towards their mouth, and the head between the two hands. Hereupon, coming within musket-shot of them, I ordered two pieces to be fired without ball, in order to alarm them, that we might

plainly know, whether they had the courage to venture another battle, or were utterly dispirited from such an attempt, that so we might accordingly manage them. And, indeed, the project took very well; for, no sooner did the savages hear the first gun, and perceive the flash of the second, but they suddenly started upon their feet, in the greatest consternation; and when we approached towards them, they ran yowling and screaming away up the hill into the country.

We could rather, at first, have wished, that the weather had permitted them to have gone off to the sea; but when we considered, that their escape might occasion the approach of multitudes, to our utter ruin and dissolution, we were very well pleased the contrary happened: and Will. Atkins (who, though wounded, would not part from us all this while) advised us not to let slip this advantage, but clapping between them and their boats, deprive them of the capacity of ever returning to plague the island: *I know, (said he) there is but one objection you can make, which is, that these creatures, living like beasts in the wood, may make excursions, rifle the plantations, and destroy the tame goats: but then consider, we had better to do with an hundred men, whom we can kill, or make slaves of, at leisure, than with an hundred nations, whom it is impossible we should save ourselves from, much less subdue.* This advice, and these arguments being approved of, we set fire to their boats; and though they were so wet that they would not burn entirely, yet we made them incapable for swimming in the seas.

As soon as the Indians perceived what we were doing, many of them ran out of the woods, in sight of us, and, kneeling down piteously, cried out, *Oa, oa, Waramakoa*, intimating, I suppose, that, if we would but spare their canoes, they would never trouble us again.

But all their complaints, submissions, and entreaties, were in vain: for self preservation obliging us to the contrary, we destroyed every one of them that had escaped the fury of the ocean. When the Indians perceived this, they raised a lamentable cry, and ran into the woods, where they continued ranging about, making the woods ring with their lamentation. Here we should have considered, that making these creatures thus desperate, we ought, at the same time, to have set a sufficient guard upon the plantations: for the savages, in their ranging about, found out the bower, destroyed the fences, trod the corn down under their feet, and tore up the vines and grapes. It is true, we were always able to fight these creatures; but, as they were too swift for us, and very numerous, we durst not go out single, for fear of them; though that too was needless, they having no weapons, nor any materials to make them; and, indeed, their extremity appeared in a little time after.

Though the savages, as already mentioned, had destroyed our bower, and all our corn, grapes, &c. yet we had still left our stock of cattle in the valley by the cave; with some little corn that grew there, and the plantation of Will. Atkins and his com-

panions, one of whom being killed by an arrow, they were now reduced to two: it is remarkable, that this was the fellow who cut the poor Indian with his hatchet, and had a design to murder me and my countrymen the Spaniards. As our condition was so low, we came to the resolution to drive the savages up to the farther part of the island, where no Indians landed: to kill as many of them as we could, till we had reduced their number; and then to give the remainder some corn to plant, and to teach them how to live by their daily labour. Accordingly, we pursued them with our guns; at the hearing of which, they were so terrified, that they would fall to the ground. Every day we killed and wounded some of them, and many we found starved to death, so that our hearts began to relent at the sight of such miserable objects. At last, with great difficulty, taking one of them alive, and using him with kindness and tenderness, we brought him to Old Friday, who talked to him, and told him, how good we would be to them all, giving them corn and land to plant and live in, and present nourishment, provided they would keep within such bounds as should be allotted them, and not do prejudice to others: *Go then, said he, and inform your countrymen of this; which, if they will not agree to, every one of them shall be slain.*

The poor creatures, thoroughly humbled, being reduced to about thirty-seven, joyfully accepted the offer, and earnestly begged for food: hereupon we sent twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed,

ed,

ed, together with Old Friday, and three Indian slaves who marched to the place where they were. The slaves were loaded with a large quantity of bread, and rice cakes, with three live goats: and the poor Indians being ordered to sit down on the side of the hill, they ate the victuals very thankfully, and have proved faithful to the last, never trespassing beyond their bounds, where, at this day, they quietly and happily remain, and where we now and then visit them. They are confined to a neck of land about a mile and a half broad, and three or four in length, on the south-east corner of the island, the sea being before, and lofty mountains behind them, free from the appearance of canoes, and indeed their countrymen have never made any enquiry after them. We gave them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; have taught them to build huts, make wooden spades, plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them, as likewise to make wicker-work, in which, I must ingenuously confess, they infinitely out-do us, having made themselves several pretty necessaries and fancies, as baskets, sieves, bird cages, and cupboards, as also stools, beds, and couches, no less useful than delightful; and now they live the most innocent and inoffensive creatures that ever were subdued in the world, wanting nothing but wives to make them a nation.

Thus, kind Sir, have I given you, according to my ability, an impartial account of the various transactions that have happened in the island since your departure, to this day: and we have great reason to

acknowledge the kind providence of heaven in our merciful deliverance. When you inspect your little kingdom, you will find in it some little improvement, your flocks increased, and your subjects augmented: so that from a desolate island, as this was before your wonderful deliverance upon it, here is a visible prospect of its becoming a populous and well governed little kingdom, to your immortal fame and glory.

The end of the Spanish governor's relation.

The continuation of the life of Robinson Crusoe, both of those passages that happened during the time of his continuance on the island, and after his departure, till he arrived again in his native country.

THERE is no doubt to suppose, but that the precedent relation of my faithful Spaniard was very agreeable, and no less surprising to me, to the young priest, and to all who heard it: nor were these people less pleased with those necessary utensils that I brought them, such as the knives, scissars, spades, shovels, and pick-axes, with which they now adorn their habitations. So much had they addicted themselves to wicker-work, prompted by the ingenuity of the Indians, who assisted them, that when I viewed the Englishmen's colonies, they seemed at a distance as though they had lived like bees in a hive: for Will. Arkins, who was now become a very indu-

stirious and sober man, had made himself a tent of basket-work round the outside; the walls were worked in as a basket, in pannels or strong squares of thirty-two in number, standing about seven feet high: in the middle was another, not above twenty-two paces round, but much stronger built, being of an octogonal form, and in the eight corners stood eight strong posts, round the top of which he laid strong pieces, pinned with wooden pins, from which he raised a pyramid for the roof, mighty pretty, I assure you, and joined very well together with iron spikes, which he made himself; for he had made him a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows and charcoal for his work, forming an anvil out of one of the iron crows, to work upon, and in this manner would he make himself hooks, staples, spikes, bolts, and hinges. After he had pitched the roof of his innermost tent, he made it so firm between the rafters with basket-work, thatching that over again with rice-straw, and over that a large leaf of a tree, that his house was as dry as if it had been tiled or slated. The outer circuit was covered as a lean-to quite round this inner apartment, laying long rafters from the thirty-two angles, to the top-posts of the inner house, about twenty feet distant: so that there was a space like a walk betwixt the outer and inner wall, near twenty feet in breadth. The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, dividing it into six neat apartments, every one of which had a door, first into the entry of the main tent; and another into the space and walk that was round it, not only

convenient for retreat, but for family necessities. Within the door of the outer circle, there was a passage directly to the door of the inner house; on either side was a wicker-partition, and a door, by which you go first into a large room twenty two feet wide, and about thirty long, and through that into another of a smaller length, so that in the outward circle were ten handsome rooms, six of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, serving as retiring rooms to the respective chambers of the inner circle, and four large warehouses, which went in through one another, two on either hand of the passage that led through the outward door to the inner tent. In short, nothing could be built more ingeniously, kept more neat, or have better conveniencies; and here lived the three families, Will. Atkins, his companion, their wives and children, and the widow of the deceased. As to religion, the men seldom taught their wives the knowledge of God, any more than the sailors custom of swearing by his name. The greatest improvement their wives had, was, they taught them to speak English, so as to be understood.

None of their children were then above six years old; they were all fruitful enough; and, I think, the cook's mate's wife was big of her sixth child.

When I enquired of the Spaniards about their circumstances while among the savages, they told me, that they abandoned themselves to despair, reckoning themselves a poor and miserable people, that had no means put into their hands, and consequently must soon be starved to death. They owned, however,

that they were in the wrong to think so, and for refusing the assistance that reason offered for their support, as well as future deliverance, confessing that grief was a most insignificant passion, as it looked upon things as without remedy, and having no hope of good things to come; all which verified this noted proverb,

*In trouble to be troubled,
Is to have your trouble doubled.*

Nor did his remarks end here: for, making observations upon my improvements, and on my condition at first, infinitely worse than theirs, he told me, that Englishmen had, in their distress, greater presence of mind than those of any other country that he had met with; and that they and the Portuguese were the worst men in the world to struggle under misfortunes. When they landed among the savages, they found but little provision, except they would turn cannibals, there being but a few roots and herbs, with little substance in them, and of which the natives gave them but very sparingly. Many were the ways they took to civilize and teach the savages, but in vain: for they would not own them to be their instructors, whose lives were owing to their bounty. Their extremities were very great, many days being entirely without food, the savages there being more indolent and less devouring than those who had better supplies. When they went out to battle, they were obliged to assist these people, in one of which my faithful Spaniard being taken, had like to have been devoured. They had lost their am-

munition, which rendered their fire-arms useless; nor could they use the bows and arrows that were given them: so that while the armies were at a distance, they had no chance; but when close, then they could be of service with halberts and sharpened sticks, put into the muzzles of their muskets. They made themselves targets of wood, covered with the skins of wild beasts; and when one happened to be knocked down, the rest of the company fought over him till he recovered: and then standing close in a line, they would make their way through a thousand savages. At the return of their friend, who they thought had been entombed in the bowels of their enemies, their joy was inconceivable. Nor were they less surprised at the sight of the loaves of bread I had sent them, things that they had not seen for several years, at the same time crossing and blessing it, as though it was manna sent from heaven: but when they knew the errand, and perceived the boat which was to carry them to the person and place from whence such relief came, this struck them with such a surprise of joy as made some of them faint away, and others burst out into tears.

This was the summary account that I had from them. I shall now inform the reader what I next did for them, and in what condition I left them. As we were all of opinion that the savages would scarce trouble them any more, so we had no apprehensions on that score. I told them I was come purely to establish, and not to remove them; and, upon that occasion, had not only brought them necessaries for

convenience and defence, but also artificers, and other persons, both for their necessary employments, and to add to their number. They were all together when I thus talked to them; and before I delivered to them the stores I had brought, I asked them one by one, if they had entirely forgot their first animosities, would engage in the strictest friendship, and shake hands with one another? On this Will. Atkins, with abundance of good humour, said, they had afflictions enough to make them all sober, and enemies enough to make them all friends: as for himself, he would live and die among them, owning, that what the Spaniards had done to him, his own mad humour had made necessary for them to do. Nor had the Spaniards occasion to justify their proceedings to me; but they told me, that, since Will. Atkins had behaved himself so valiantly in fight, and at other times shewed such a regard to the common interest of them all, they had not only forgotten all that was past, but thought he ought as much to be trusted with arms and necessaries as any of them, which they testified by making him next in command to the governor: and they most heartily embraced the occasion of giving me this solemn assurance, that they would never separate their interest again as long as they lived.

After these kind declarations of friendship, we appointed all of us to dine together the next day; upon this I caused the ship's cook and his mate, come on shore for that purpose, to assist in dressing our dinner. We brought from the ship six pieces of beef,

and four of pork , together with our punch-bowl , and materials to fill it ; and, in particular, I gave them ten bottles of French claret , and ten of English beer , which was very acceptable to them. The Spaniards added to our feast five whole kids, which being roasted , three of them were sent as fresh meat to the sailors, on board, and the other two we ate ourselves. After our merry and innocent feast was over , I began to distribute my cargoe among them. First, I gave them linen sufficient to make every one of them four shirts , and at the Spaniards request made them up six. The thin English stuffs I allotted to make every one a light coat like a frock , agreeable to the climate , and left them such a quantity , as to make more upon their decay ; as also pumps , shoes , hats , and stockings. It is not to be expressed, the pleasing satisfaction which sat upon the countenances of these poor men , when they perceived what care I took of them , as if I had been a common father to them all ; and they all engaged never to leave the island , till I gave my consent for their departure. I then presented to them the people I brought , to wit , the tailor , smith , and the two carpenters ; but my Jack of all trades was the most acceptable present I could make them. My tailor fell immediately to work , and made every one of them a shirt ; after which , he learned the women how to sew and stitch , thereby to become the more helpful to their husbands. Neither were the carpenters less useful , taking in pieces their clumsy things , instead of which , they made convenient and hand-

some tables, stools, bedsteads, cupboards, lockers and shelves. But when I carried them to see Will. Atkins's basket-house, they owned they never saw such a piece of natural ingenuity before: *I am sure*, said one of the carpenters, *the man that built this has no need of us; you need, Sir, do nothing but give him tools.*

I divided the tools among them in this manner; to every man I gave a digging spade, a shovel and a rake, as having no harrows or ploughs; and to every separate place a pick axe, a crow, a broad axe, and a saw, with a store for a general supply, should any be broken or worn out. I left them also nails, staples, hinges, hammers, chissels, knives, scissars, and all sorts of tools and iron work; and, for the use of the smith, gave them three tons of unwrought iron for a supply: and as to arms and ammunition, I stored them even to profusion; or, at least, to equip a sufficient little army against all opposers whatsoever.

The young man (whose mother was unfortunately starved to death), together with the maid, a pious and well educated young woman, seeing things so well ordered on shore (for I made them accompany me), and considering they had no occasion to go so far a voyage as to the East-Indies, they both desired of me, that I would leave them there, and enter them among my subjects. This I readily agreed to, ordering them a plat of ground, on which were three little houses erected, environed with basket-work, pallisadoed like Atkins's, and adjoining to his planta-

tion. So contrived were their tents, that each of them had a room apart to lodge in, while the middle tent was not only their store-house, but their place for eating and drinking. At this time the two Englishmen removed their habitation to their former place; so that now the island divided into three colonies; *first*, Those I have just now mentioned; *secondly*, That of Will. Atkins, where there were four families of Englishmen, with their wives and children, the widow and her children: the young man, and the maid, who, by the way, we made a wife of before our departure; three savages, who were slaves; the tailor, smith, (who served also as a gunsmith), and my other celebrated person called *Jack of all trades*. Thirdly, My chief colony, which consisted of the Spaniards, with Old Friday, who still remained at my old habitation, which was my capital city: and surely never was there such a metropolis, it now being hid in so obscure a grove, that a thousand men might have ranged the island a month, and looked purposely for it, without being able to find it, though the Spaniards had enlarged its boundaries, both without and within, in a most surprising manner.

But now I think it high time to speak of the young French priest of the order of *St Benedict*, whose judicious and pious discourses upon sundry occasions, merit an extraordinary observation; nor can his being a French Papist priest, I presume, give offence to any of my readers, when they have this assurance from me, that he was a person of the most

courteous disposition, extensive charity, and exalted piety. His arguments were always agreeable to reason, and his conversation the most acceptable of any person that I had ever yet met with in my life.

Sir, said he to me one day, *since, under God* (at the same time crossing his breast) *you have not only saved my life; but, by permitting me to go this voyage, have granted me the happiness of free conversation, I think it my duty, as my profession obliges me, to save what souls I can, by bringing them to the knowledge of some Catholic doctrine, necessary to salvation; and, since these people are under your immediate government, in gratitude, justice, and decency for what you have done for me, I shall offer no farther points in religion; than what shall merit your approbation.* Being pleased with the modesty of his carriage, I told him he should not be the worse used for being of a different persuasion, if, upon that very account, we did not differ in points of faith, not decent in a part of the country, where the poor Indians ought to be instructed in the knowledge of the true God, and his son Jesus Christ. To this he replied, that conversation might easily be separated from disputes; that he would discourse with me rather as a gentleman than a religious; but that, if we did enter upon religious arguments, upon my desiring the same, I would give him liberty to defend his own principles. He farther added, that he would do all that became him in his office, as a priest as well as a Christian, to procure the happiness of all that was in the ship: that though he

could not pray with, he would pray for us, on all occasions; and then he told me several extraordinary events of his life, within a few years past; but particularly in this last, which was the most remarkable: that, in this voyage, he had the misfortune to be five times shipped and unshipped: his first design was to have gone to Martinico; for which, taking ship at St Malo, he was forced into Lisbon by bad weather, the vessel running aground in the mouth of the Tagus: that from thence he went on board a Portuguese ship, bound to the Madeiras, whose master being but an indifferent mariner, and out of his reckoning, they were drove to Fial, where selling their commodity, which was corn, they resolved to take in their loading at the Isle of May, and to sail to Newfoundland; at the banks of which, meeting a French ship bound to Quebec, in the river of Canada, and from thence to Martinico, in this ship he embarked; the master of which dying at Quebec, that voyage was suspended: and lastly, shipping himself for France, this last ship was destroyed by fire, as before has been related.

At this time we talked no further; but another morning he comes to me, just as I was going to visit the Englishmens colony, and tells me, that, as he knew the prosperity of the island was my principal desire, he had something to communicate agreeable to my design, by which perhaps he might put it, more than he yet thought it was, in the way of the benediction of heaven. How, Sir? said I, in a surprise, are we not yet in the way of God's blessing, af-

ter all these signal providences and deliverances, of which you have had such an ample relation? He replied, I hope, Sir, you are in the way, and that your good design will prosper: but still there are some among you that are not equally right in their actions: and remember, I beseech you, Sir, that *Achan*, by his crime, removed God's blessing from the camp of the children of Israel; that though six and thirty were entirely innocent, yet they became the objects of divine vengeance, and bore the weight of the punishment accordingly.

So sensibly was I touched with this discourse, and so satisfied with that ardent piety that inflamed his soul, that I desired him to accompany me to the Englishmens plantations, which he was very glad of, by reason they were the subjects of what he designed to discourse with me about; and while we walked on together, he began in the following manner:

Sir, said he, I must confess it is a great unhappiness that we disagree in several doctrinal articles of religion; but, surely both of us acknowledge this, that there is a God, who having given us some stated rules for our service and obedience, we ought not willingly and knowingly to offend him, either by neglecting what he has commanded, or by doing what he has forbidden. This truth every Christian owns, that whenever any one presumptuously sins against God's command, the Almighty then withdraws his blessing from him; every good man therefore ought certainly to prevent such neglect of, or

sin against God and his commands. I thanked the young priest for expressing so great a concern for us, and desired him to explain the particulars of what he had observed, that, according to the parable of *Achan*, I might remove the accursed thing from among us. Why then, Sir, said he, in the first place, you have four Englishmen, who have taken savage women to their wives, by whom they have several children, though none of them are legally married, as the law of God and man requires; they, I say, Sir, are no less than adulterers, and as they still live in adultery, are liable to the curse of God. I know, Sir, you may object the want of a priest, or clergyman of any kind; as also, pen, ink, and paper, to write down a contract of marriage, and have it signed between them. But neither this, nor what the Spanish governor has told you of their chusing by consent, can be reckoned a marriage, nor any more than an agreement to keep them from quarrelling among themselves; for, Sir, the essence or sacrament of matrimony (so he called it) not only consists in mutual consent, but in the legal obligation, which compels them to own and acknowledge one another, to abstain from other persons, the men to provide for their wives and children, and the women to the same and like conditions, *mutatis mutandis*, on their side: whereas, Sir, these men, upon their own pleasure, on any occasion, may forsake those women, and marry others, and by disowning their children, suffer them utterly to perish. Now, Sir, added he, can God be honoured in such an unlawful

liberty as this? how can a blessing succeed the best endeavours, if men are allowed to live in so licentious a way? I was indeed struck with the thing myself, and thought that they were much to blame, that no formal contract had been made, though it had been but breaking a stick between them, to engage them to live as man and wife, never to separate, but love, cherish, and comfort one another all their lives; yet, Sir, said I, when they took these women, I was not here; and if it is adultery, it is past my remedy, and I cannot help it. *True, Sir, answered the young priest, you cannot be charged with that part of the crime which was done in your absence; but I beseech you, don't flatter yourself, that you are under no obligation now to put a period to it; which if you neglect to do, the guilt will be entirely on you alone, since it is certainly in nobody's power but yours, to alter their condition.* I must confess, I was so dull, that I thought he meant I should part them, and knowing that this would put the whole island in confusion, I told him I could not consent to it upon any account whatsoever. *Sir, said he, in a great surprise, I do not mean that you should separate, but marry them, by a written contract, signed by both man and woman, and by all the witnesses present, which all the European laws decree to be of sufficient efficacy.* Amazed with such true piety and sincerity, and considering the validity of a written contract, I acknowledged all that he said to be very just and kind; and that I would discourse with the men about it; neither could I see what reason they could have not to let him marry

them, whose authority in that affair is owned to be as authentic as if they were married by any of our clergymen in England.

The next complaint he had to make to me was this, that though these English subjects of mine had lived with these women seven years, and though they were of good understanding, and capable of instruction, having learned not only to speak, but to read English, yet all this while they had never taught them any thing of the Christian religion, or the knowledge of God, much less in what manner he ought to be served. *And is not this an unaccountable neglect?* said he warmly. *Depend upon it, God Almighty will call them to account for such contempt. And tho' I am not of your religion, yet I should be glad to see these people released from the devil's power, and be saved by the principles of the Christian religion, the knowledge of God, of a Redeemer, the resurrection, and of a future state. But, as it is not too late, if you please to give me leave to instruct them, I doubt not but I shall supply this great defect, by bringing them into the great circle of Christianity, even while you continue in the island.*

I could hold no longer, but embracing him, told him, with a thousand thanks, I would grant whatever he requested, and desired him to proceed in the third article, which he did in the following manner:

Sir, said he, it should be a maxim among all Christians, *That Christian knowledge ought to be propagated by all possible means, and on all occasions.* Upon this account our church sends missionaries into Persia,

India, and China; men who are willing to die for the sake of God and the Christian faith, in order to bring poor Infidels into the way of salvation. Now, Sir, as here is an opportunity to convert seven and thirty poor savages, I wonder how you can pass by such an occasion of doing good, which is really worth the expence of a man's whole life.

I must confess I was so confounded at this discourse that I could not tell how to answer him. Sir, said he, seeing me in disorder, *I shall be very sorry if I have given you offence.* No, Sir, said I, I am rather confounded; and you know my circumstances, that, being bound to the East Indies in a merchant ship, I cannot wrong the owners so much, as to detain the ship here, the men lying at victuals and wages on their account. If I stay above twelve days, I must pay 3 *l.* Sterling *per diem* demurrage, nor must the ship stay above eight days more; so that I am unable to engage in this work, unless I would leave the ship, and be reduced to my former condition. The priest, though he owned this was hard upon me, yet laid it to my conscience, whether the blessing of saving seven and thirty souls was not worth venturing all that I had in the world? Sir, said I, it is very true: but as you are an ecclesiastic, it naturally falls into your profession: why, therefore, don't you rather offer to undertake it yourself, than press me to it? Upon this he turned about, making a very low bow, I most humbly thank God and you, Sir, said he, for so blessed a call; and most willingly undertake so glorious an office, which will sufficiently compensate all

the hazards and difficulties I have gone through in a long and uncomfortable voyage.

While he was thus speaking, I could discover a rapture in his face, by his colour going and coming; at the same time his eyes sparkled like fire, with all the signs of the most zealous transports. And when I asked whether he was in earnest? Sir, said he, it was to preach to the Indians, I consented to come along with you; these infidels, even in this little island, are infinitely of more worth than my poor life: if so that I should prove the happy instrument of saving these poor creatures souls, I care not if I never see my native country again. One thing I only beg of you more, is, that you would leave Friday with me, to be my interpreter, without whose assistance neither of us will understand each other.

This request very sensibly troubled me; first, upon Friday's being bred a Protestant; and, secondly, for the affection I bore to him for his fidelity: But, immediately the remembrance of Friday's father coming into my head, I recommended him to him as having learned Spanish, which the priest also understood: and so was thoroughly satisfied with him.

When we came to the Englishmen, after I had told them what necessary things I had done for them, I talked to them of the scandalous life they led, told them what notice the clergyman had taken of it, and asked them if they were married men or bachelors? They answered, two of them were widowers, and the other three single men. But, said I, with what

conscience can you call these your wives, by whom you have so many children, and yet are not lawfully married? They all said, that they took them before the governor as such, having nobody else to marry them, which they thought as legal, as if they had had a parson. No doubt, said I, but in the eye of God you are so: but unless I am assured of your honest intent, never to desert these poor creatures, I can do nothing more for you, neither can you expect God's blessing while you live in such an open course of adultery. Hereupon, Will. Atkins, who spoke for the rest, told me, That they believed their wives the most innocent and virtuous creatures in the world: that they would never forsake them while they had breath; and that, if there was a clergyman in the ship, they would be married to them with all their heart. I told you before, said I, that I have a minister with me, who shall marry you to-morrow morning, if you are willing; so I would have you consult to-night, with the rest, about it. I told him the clergyman was a Frenchman, and knew not a word of English, but that I would act as a clerk between them. And indeed this business met with such speedy success, that they all told me, in a few minutes after, that they were ready to be formally married, as soon as I pleased; with which informing the priest, he was exceedingly rejoiced.

Nothing now remained, but that the women should be made sensible of the meaning of the thing; with which being well satisfied, they, with their husbands, attended at my apartment the next morning:

there was my priest, habited in a black vest, something like a cassock, with a fash round it, much resembling a minister, and I was his interpreter. But the seriousness of his behaviour, and the scruples he made of marrying the women, who were not baptized, gave them an exceeding reverence for his person; nor indeed would he marry them at all, till he obtained my liberty to discourse both with the men and women, and then he told them, That, in the sight of all indifferent men, and in the sense of the laws of society, they had lived in open adultery, which nothing now, but their consent to marry, or final separation, could put an end to; and even here was a difficulty with respect to the laws of Christian matrimony, in marrying a professed Christian to a heathen idolater, unbaptized; but yet there was time enough to make them profess the name of Christ, without which nothing could be done: that, besides, he believed themselves very indifferent Christians: and consequently had not discoursed with their wives upon that subject; and that unless they promised him to do so, he could not marry them, as being expressly forbidden by the laws of God.

All this they heard attentively, and owned readily; *But, Lord, Sir!* said *Will. Atkins* to me, *how should we teach them religion, who know nothing of it ourselves? How can we talk to our wives of God, Jesus Christ, heaven and hell? why they would only laugh at us, who never yet have practised religion, but on the contrary, all manner of wickedness.* *Will. Atkins*, said I, cannot you tell your wife she is in the wrong,

and that her gods are idols, which can neither hear, speak, nor understand; but that our God, who has made, can destroy all things; that he rewards the good, and punishes the wicked; and at last will bring us to judgment? cannot you tell her these things? That's true, said Atkins, but then she'll tell me, it is utterly false, since I am not punished and sent to the devil, who hath been such a wicked creature. These words I interpreted to the priest! O! said he, tell him, his repentance will make him a very good minister to his spouse, and qualify him to preach on the mercy and long-suffering of a merciful Being, who desires not the death of a sinner, and even defers damnation to the last judgment; this will lead him to the doctrine of, and will make him an excellent preacher to his wife. I repeated this to Atkins, who, being more than ordinary affected with it, replied, I know all this, Sir, and a great deal more; but how can I have the impudence to talk thus to my wife, when my conscience witnesses against me? ALAS! said he, (with tears in his eyes, and giving a great sigh), as for repenting, that is for ever past me. Past you! Atkins, said I, what do you mean? You know well enough, said he, what I mean; *I mean it is too late.*

When I told the priest what he said, the poor affectionate man could not refrain from weeping; but recovering himself, *Pray, Sir,* said he, *ask him if he is contented that it is too late; or is he concerned, and wishes it were not so?* This question I put fairly to Atkins, who replied in a passion, *How can I be easy,*

in a state which I know must terminate in my ruin? for I really believe, some time or other, I shall cut my throat, to put a period both to my life and to the terrors of my conscience.

At this the clergyman shook his head. *Sir, said he, pray tell him it is not too late: Christ will give him repentance, if he has recourse to the merit of his passion. Does he think he is beyond the power of divine mercy? there may indeed be a time when provoked mercy will no longer strive, but never too late for men to repent in this world.* I told Atkins every word the priest had said, who then parted from us to talk to his wife, while we discoursed with the rest. But these were very stupid in religious matters, yet all of them promised to do their endeavours to make their wives turn Christians; and upon which promises the priest married the three couple. But as Atkins was the only sincere convert, and of more sense than the rest, my clergyman was earnestly inquiring after him: *Sir, said he, let us walk out of this labyrinth, and I dare say we shall find this poor man preaching to his wife already.* And indeed we found it true; for coming to the edge of the wood, we perceived Atkins and his savage wife sitting under the shade of a bush, in very earnest discourse; he pointed to the sun, to the quarters of the earth, to himself, to her, the woods, and the trees. Immediately we could perceive him start upon his feet, fall down upon his knees, and lift up both his hands; at which the tears ran down my clergyman's cheeks; but our great misfortune was, we could not hear one word

that passed between them. Another time he would embrace her, wiping the tears from her eyes, kissing her with the greatest transports, and then both kneel down for some minutes together. Such raptures of joy did this occasion in my young priest, that he could scarcely contain himself: And a little after this, we observed by her motion, as frequently lifting up her hands, and laying them on her breast, that she was mightily affected with his discourse, and so they withdrew from our sight.

When we came back, we found them both waiting to be called in; upon which we agreed to examine him alone, and so I began thus to discourse him. Prithce, Will. Atkins, said I, what education had you? What was your father?

W. A. A better man than ever I shall be; he was, Sir, a clergyman, who gave me good instruction, or correction, which I despised, like a brute as I was, and murdered my poor father.

Pr. Ha! a murderer!

[*Here the priest started and looked pale, as thinking he had really killed his father.*]

R. C. What, did you kill him with your hands?

W. A. No, Sir, I cut not his throat, but broke his heart, by the most unnatural turn of disobedience to the tenderest and best of fathers.

R. C. Well, I pray God grant you repentance; I did not ask you to extort a confession; but I asked you, because I see you have more knowledge of what is good, than your companions.

W. A. O, Sir, whenever I look back upon my past-

life, conscience upbraids me with my father : the sins against our parents make the deepest wounds, and their weight lies the heaviest upon the mind.

R. C. You talk, Will. too feelingly and sensibly for me ; I am not able to bear it.

W. A. You bear it, Sir ! you know nothing of it.

R. C. But yes, Atkins, I do ; and every shore, valley, and tree in this island, witness the anguish of my soul for my undutifulness to my kind father, whom I have murdered likewise ; yet my repentance falls infinitely short of yours. But, Will. how comes the sense of this matter to touch you just now ?

W. A. Sir, the work you have set me about, has occasioned it ; for talking to my wife about God and religion, she has preached me such a sermon, that I shall retain it in lasting remembrance.

R. C. No, no, it is your own moving pious arguments to her, has made conscience fling them back upon you. But pray, Atkins, inform us what passed between you and your wife, and in what manner did you begin.

W. A. I talked to her of the laws of marriage, the reason of such compacts, whereby order and justice is maintained ; without which, men would run from their wives and children, to the dissolution of families or inheritances.

R. C. Well, and what did she say to all this ?

W. A. Sir, we began our discourse in the following manner, which I shall exactly repeat according to my mean capacity, if you think it worth your while to honour it with your attention,

The

*The DIALOGUE between Will. Atkins and
his Wife in the wood.*

Wife. **Y**ou tell me marriage God appoint, have you God in your country?

W. A. Yes, child, God is in every nation.

Wife. No; great old Benamuckee god is in my country, not yours.

W. A. My dear, God is in heaven, which he made; he also made the earth, the sea, and all that is therein.

Wife. Why you not tell me much long ago?

W. A. My dear, I have been a wicked wretch, having a long time lived without the knowledge of God in the world.

Wife. What, not know great God in own nation? No do good ting? No say O to him? that's strange!

W. A. But, my dear, many live as if there was no God in heaven for all that.

Wife. Why God suffer this? why makee not live well?

W. A. It is our own faults, child.

Wife. But if he much great, can makee kill, why no makee kill when no serve him? No be good mans, no cry O to him?

W. A. That's true, my dear, he may strike us dead, but his abundant mercy spareth us.

Wife. Did not you tell God tankee for that?

W. A. No, I have neither thanked him for his mercy, nor feared him for his power.

Wife. Then me not believe your God be good, nor makee kill, when you makee him angry.

O

W. A. Alas ! must my wicked life hinder you from believing in him ?

Wife. How can me think your God live there ?
(*pointing to heaven.*) Sure he no ken what you do here.

W. A. Yes, yes, my dear, he hears us speak, sees what we do, and knows what we even think.

Wife. Where then makee power strong, when he hears you curse, swear de great damn ?

W. A. My dear, this shews he is indeed a God and not a man, who has such tender mercy.

Wife. Mercy ! what you call mercy ?

W. A. He pities and spares us : as he is our great Creator, so is he also our tender father.

Wife. So God never angry, never kill wicked, then he no good, no great mighty.

W. A. O my dear, don't say so, he is both ; and many times he shews terrible examples of his judgement and vengeance.

Wife. Then you makee de bargain with him ; you do bad ting, he no hurt you, he hurt other mans.

W. A. No, indeed, my sins are all presumptions upon his goodness.

Wife. Well, and yet no makee you dead ? and you give him no tankee neither ?

W. A. It is true, I am an ungrateful, unthankful dog, that I am.

Wife. Why, you say he makee you, why makee you no much better then.

W. A. It is I alone that have deformed myself, and abused his goodness.

Wife. Pray makee God know me, meno makee him angry, no do bad ting.

W. A. You mean, my dear, that you desire I would teach you to know God : alas ! poor dear creature ; he must teach thee, and not I. But I'll pray earnestly to him to direct thee, and to forgive me, a miserable sinner. (*Hereupon he went a little distance, and kneeling down, prayed earnestly to God to enlighten her mind, and to pardon his sins ; when this was done, they continued their discourse thus.*)

Wife. What you put down knee for ? For what hold up hand ? Who you speak to ?

W. A. My dear, I bowed in token of submission to him that made me, and prayed that he would open your eyes and understanding.

Wife. And can he do that too ? And will he hear what you say ?

W. A. Yes, my dear, he bids us pray, and has given us promise that he will hear us.

Wife. When did he bid you pray ? What, do you hear him speak ?

W. A. No, my dear, but God has spoken formerly to good men from heaven : and by divine revelation they have written all his laws down in a book.

Wife. O where dat good book ?

W. A. I have it not now by me : but one time or other I shall get it for you to read. *Then he embraced her with great affection.*

Wife. Pray tell a mee did God teachee them write that book ?

W. A. Yes, and by that rule we know him to be God.

Wife. What way , what rule you know him ?

W. A. Because he teaches what is good , just , and holy ; and forbids all wicked and abominable actions that incur his displeasure.

Wife. O me fain understand that , and if he do all things you say he do , surely he hear me say O to him ; he makee me good if I wish to be good ; he no kill me if I love him ; me tink , believe him great God ; me say O to him , along with you , my dear.

Here the poor man fell upon his knees and made her kneel down by him , praying with the greatest fervency that God would instruct her by his Holy Spirit ; and that God by his providence would send them a Bible for both their instructions. And such was the early piety of this new convert , that she made him promise never to forsake God any more , lest , being made dead , as she called it , she should not only want her instructor , but himself be miserable in a long eternity.

Such a surprising account as this was , proved very affecting to us both , but particularly to the young Clergyman , who was mightily concerned he could not talk to her himself. Sir , said he , there is something more to be done to this woman than to marry her : I mean that she ought to be baptized. To this I presently agreed : Pray , said he again , ask her husband , whether he has ever talked to her of Jesus Christ , the salvation of sinners , the nature of faith , and redemption in and by him , of the Holy Spirit , the resurrection , last judgment , and a future state : but the poor fellow melted into tears at this question

saying, that he had said something to her of these things, but his inability to talk of them, made him afraid lest her knowledge of them, should rather make her condemn religion, than be benefited by it: but that, if I would discourse with her, it would be very evident my labour would not be in vain. Accordingly I called her in, and placing myself as interpreter between the religious priest and the woman, I entreated him to go on: but surely never was such a sermon preached by any clergyman in these latter days, with so much zeal, knowledge, and sincerity; in short, he brought the woman to embrace the knowledge of Christ, and of redemption by him, with so surprising a degree of understanding, that she made it her own request to be baptized.

He then performed his office in the sacrament of baptism, first, by saying some words over to himself in Latin, and then asking me to give her a name, as being her godfather, and pouring a whole dish full of water upon the woman's head, he said, MARY, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; so that none could know of what religion he was. After this he pronounced the benediction in Latin. Thus the woman being made a Christian, he married her to Will. Atkins; which being finished, he affectionately exhorted him to lead a holy life for the future; that since the Almighty, by the convictions of his conscience, had honoured him to be the instrument of his wife's conversion, he should not dishonour the grace of God, that while the savage was converted, the in-

strument should be cast away. Thus ended a ceremony, to me the most pleasant and agreeable I ever passed in my life.

The affairs of the island being settled, I was preparing to go on board, when the young man (whose mother was starved) came to me, saying, that as he understood I had a clergyman with me, who had married the Englishmen with savages, he had a match to make between two Christians which he desired might be finished before I departed. Thinking that it was he himself that had courted his mother's maid, I persuaded him not to do any thing rashly upon the account of his solitary circumstances; that the maid was an unequal match for him, both in respect to substance and years; and that it was very probable he would live to return to his own country, where he might have a far better choice. At these words, smiling, he interrupted me, thanking me for my good advice; that as he had nothing to beg of me, but a small settlement, with a servant or two, or some few necessaries, so he hoped I would not be unmindful of him when I returned to England, but give his letters to his friends; and that when he was redeemed, the plantation, and all its improvements, however valuable, should be returned to me again. But, as for the marriage he proposed, that it was not himself, but that it was between my Jack of all trades, and the maid Susan.

I was indeed agreeably surpris'd at the mentioning this match, which seem'd very suitable, the one being a very ingenious fellow, and the other an excellent,

dexterous, and sensible house-wife, fit to be governess of the whole island: so we married them the same day; and as I was her father, and gave her away, so I gave her a handsome portion, appointing her and her husband a convenient large space of ground for their plantation. The sharing out of the land I left to Will. Atkins, who really divided it very justly, to every person's satisfaction: they only desired one general writing under my hand for the whole, which I caused to be drawn up, signed and sealed to them, setting out their bounds, and giving them a right to the whole possession of their respective plantations, with their improvements, to them and their heirs, reserving all the rest of the island as my own property, and a certain rent for every particular plantation, after eleven years. As to their laws and government, I exhorted them to love one another: and as to the Indians who lived in a nook by themselves, I allotted three or four of them plantations, and the rest willingly chose to become servants to the other families, by which means they were employed in useful labour, and fared much better than they did before. Besides, the savages being thus mixed with the Christians, the work of their conversion might be set on foot by the latter, in the clergyman's absence, to our equal satisfaction. The young priest, however, was a little anxious lest the Christians should not be willing to do their parts in instructing those poor Indians: I therefore told him, we should call them all together; that he should speak to the Spaniards who were Papists, and I to the English

who were Protestants, and make them promise that they would never make any distinction in religion, but teach the general true knowledge of God, and his son Jesus Christ, in order to convert the poor savages. And this, indeed, they all promised us accordingly.

When I came to Will. Atkins's house, I found his baptized wife, and the young woman newly married to my Jack of all trades, were become great intimates, and discoursing of religion together. O, Sir, says Will. Atkins, when God has sinners to reconcile to himself, he never wants an instructor: I knew I was unworthy for so good a work, and therefore this young woman has been sent hither as it were from heaven, who is sufficient to convert a whole island of savages. The young woman blushed, and was going to rise: but I desired her to sit still, and hoped that God would bless her in so good a work, and then, pulling out a Bible, (which I brought on purpose in my pocket for him), Here, Atkins, said I, here is an assistant that perhaps you had not before. So confounded was the poor man, that it was some time before he could speak; at last, turning to his wife, My dear, he said, did I not tell you that God could hear what we said? Here's the book I prayed for, when you and I kneeled under the bush: God then heard us, and now has sent it. The woman was surprised, and thought really God had sent that individual book from heaven; but I turned to the young woman, and desired her to explain to the new convert, that God may properly be said to answer our petitions,

when, in the course of his providence, such particular things come to pass as we petitioned for. This the young woman did effectually; but surely Will. Atkins's joy cannot be expressed; no man being more thankful for any thing in the world, than he was for his Bible, nor desired it from a better principle.

After several religious discourses, I desired the young woman to give me an account of the anguish she felt when she was starving to death for hunger; to which she readily consented, and began in the following manner:

"Sir," said she, "all our victuals being gone; after I had fasted one day, my stomach was very sickish, and, at the approach of night, I was inclined to yawning, and sleepy. When I slept upon the couch three hours, I awaked a little refreshed: three hours after, my stomach being more and more sickish, I lay down again, but could not sleep, being very faint and ill. Thus I passed the second day with a strange variety, first hungry, then sick again, with reachings to vomit: that night I dreamed I was at Barbadoes, buying plenty of provisions, and dined heartily. But when I awaked, my spirits were exceedingly sunk, to find myself in the extremity of famine. There was but one glass of wine, which being mixed with sugar, I drank up; but for want of substance to digest upon, the fumes of it got into my head, and made me senseless for some time. The third day I was so ravenous and furious, that I could have eaten a little child if it had come in my way; during which time, I was as mad as any creature in

bedlam. In one of these fits I fell down , and struck my face against the corner of a pallet bed , where my mistress lay: the blood gushed out of my nose, but by my excessive bleeding, both the violence of the fever, and the ravenous part of the hunger abated. After this , I grew sick again , strove to vomit , but could not; then bleeding a second time, I swooned away as dead; when I came to myself, I had a dreadful gnawing pain in my stomach , which went off towards night, with a longing desire for food. I took a draught of water and sugar , but it came up again; then I drank water without sugar , and that staid with me. I laid me down on the bed , praying God would take me away; after I had slumbered, I thought myself a-dying, therefore recommended my soul to God, and wished somebody would throw me into the sea. All this while my departing mistress lay by me ; the last bit of bread she had , she gave it to her dear child , my young master. The morning after , I fell into a violent passion of crying , and after that into hunger. I espied the blood that came from my nose in a basin, which I immediately swallowed up. At night I had the usual variations , as pain in the stomach , sick , sleepy , and ravenous ; and I had no thought but that I should die before morning. In the morning came on terrible gripings in my bowels. At this time , I heard my young master's lamentations , by which I understood his mother was dead. Soon after , the sailors cried , *A sail ! a sail !* hallooing as if they were distracted, for joy of that relief, which afterwards we received from your hands ».

Surely never was a more distinct account of starving to death than this. But to return to the disposition of things among my people, I did not take any notice to them of the sloop that I had framed, neither would I leave them the two pieces of brass cannon, or the two quarter-deck guns that I had on board, lest, upon any disgust, they should have separated, or turned pirates, and so made the island a den of thieves, instead of a plantation of sober pious people: but leaving them in a flourishing condition, with a promise to send them further relief from Brazil, as sheep, hogs, and cows, (being obliged to kill the latter at sea, having no hay to feed them), I went on board the ship again, the first of May 1693, after having been twenty days among them: and next morning, giving them a salute of five guns at parting, we set sail for the Brazils. The third day, towards evening, there happening a calm, and the current being very strong, we were drove to the N. N. E. towards the land. Some hours after we perceived the sea covered as it were with something very black, not easily at first to be discovered: upon which our chief mate ascending the shrouds a little way, and taking a view with a perspective glass, he cries out, an Army! An army, you fool, said I, what do you mean? Nay, Sir, said he, don't be angry, I assure you it is not only an army, but a fleet too; for I believe there are a thousand canoes paddling along, and making with great haste towards us.

Indeed every one of us were surpris'd at this relation: and my nephew the captain could not tell what

to think of it, but thought we should all be devoured. Nor was I free from concern, when I considered how much we were becalmed, and what a strong current set towards the shore : however, I encouraged him not to be afraid, but bring the ship to an anchor, as soon as we were certain that we must engage them. Accordingly we did so, and furled all our sails : as to the savages, we feared nothing, but only that they might set the ship on fire ; to prevent which I ordered them to get their boats out, and fasten them, one close by the head, and the other by the stern, well manned, with skeets and buckets to extinguish the flames, should it so happen. The savages soon came up with us, but there were not so many as the mate had said, for instead of a thousand canoes, there were only one hundred and twenty ; too many indeed for us, several of their canoes containing about sixteen or seventeen men.

As they approached us, they seemed to be in the greatest amazement, not knowing what to make of us. They rowed round the ship, which occasioned us to call to the men in the boats, not to suffer them to come near them. Hereupon they beckoned to the savages to keep back, which they accordingly did ; but at their retreat they let fly about fifty arrows among us, and very much wounded one of our men in the longboat. I called to them not to fire upon any account, but handing them down some deal-boards, the carpenters made them a kind of a fence to shield them from the arrows. In half an hour after they came so near astern of us, that we had a perfect sight

of them; then they rowed a little farther out, till they came directly along side of us, and then approached so near as they could hear us speak: this made me order all our men to keep close, and get their guns ready. In the mean time I ordered Friday to go out upon deck, and ask them in his language what they meant? No sooner did he do so, but fix of the savages, who were in the foremost canoes, stooping down, shewed us their naked backsides, as much as to say in *English*, *Kiss our* — : but Friday quickly knew what this meant, by immediately crying out they were going to shoot; unfortunately for him; poor creature! who fell under the cloud of three hundred arrows, no less than seven piercing through his body, killing one of the best of servants, and faithfullest of companions in all my solitudes and afflictions.

So enraged was I at the death of poor Friday, that the guns, which before were charged with only powder, to frighten them, I ordered to be loaded with small shot; nor did the gunners fail in their aim, but at this broadside split and overset thirteen or fourteen of their canoes, which killed numbers of them, and set the rest a swimming: the others, frightened out of their wits, little regarding their fellows drowning, scoured away as fast as they could. One poor wretch our people took up, swimming for his life, an hour after. He was very sullen at first, so that he would neither eat nor speak: but I took a way to cure him, by ordering them to throw him into the sea, which they did; and then he came swimming back like a cork; calling in his tongue, as I suppose, to save him. So

we took him on board, but it was a long time before we could make him speak or understand English; yet when we had taught him, he told us, they were going with their kings to fight a great battle: and when we asked him, what made them come up to us? he said, *to makee de great wonder look*: where, it is to be noted, that those natives, and those of Africa, always add two *e*'s at the end of English words, as *makee*, *takee*, and the like, from which it is a very difficult thing to make them break off.

Being now under sail, we took our last farewell of poor honest Friday, and interred him with all possible decency and solemnity; putting him into a coffin, and committing him to the deep, at the same time causing eleven guns to be fired for him. Thus ended the life of one of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and affectionate servants, that ever any man was blessed with in the world.

Having now a fair wind for Brazil, in about twelve days time we made land in the latitude of five degrees south of the line. Four days we kept on S. by E. in sight of shore, when we made cape St Augustine, and in three days we came to an anchor off the *bay of All Saints*. I had great difficulty here to get leave to hold correspondence on shore; for neither the figure of my partner, my two merchant trustees, nor the fame of my wonderful preservation in the island, could procure me the favour, till such time as the prior of the monastery of the Augustines (to whom I had given 500 moidores) obtained leave from the governor, for me personally, with the captain and one more, toge-

ther with eight sailors, to come on shore ; upon this condition , that we should not land any goods out of the ship, or carry any person away without licence : I found means however to get on shore three bales of English goods , such as fine broad cloths , stuffs , and some linen, which I brought as a present for my partner, who had sent me on board a present of fresh provisions , wine , and sweatmeats , worth above thirty moidores , including some tobacco , and three or four fine gold medals.

Here I delivered my partner in goods to the value of 100 l. Sterling , and obliged him to fit-up the sloop I bought , for the use of my island , in order to send them refreshments : and so active was he in this matter , that he had the vessel finished in a few days , to the master of which I gave particular instructions to find the place. I soon loaded him with a small cargo: and one of our sailors offered to settle there, upon my letter to the Spanish governor , if I would allot him tools and a plantation. This I willingly granted , and gave him the savage we had taken prisoner to be his slave. All things being ready for the voyage , my old partner told me , there was an acquaintance of his, a Brazil planter , who having fallen under the displeasure of the church , and in fear of the Inquisition, which obliged him to be concealed, would be glad of such an opportunity to make his escape , with his wife and two daughters ; and if I would allot them a plantation in my island , he would give them a small stock to begin with , for that the officers had already seized his effects and estate , and left him

nothing but a little household stuff, and two slaves. This request I presently granted, concealing him and his family on board our ship, till such time as the sloop (where all the effects were) was gone out of the bay, and then we put them on board, who carried some materials, and plants for planting sugar-canes, along with them. By this sloop, among other things, I sent my subjects 3 milch cows and five calves, about 22 hogs, 3 sows big with pig, 2 mares and a stone horse. I also engaged three Portugal women to go for sake of the Spaniards, which, with the persecuted man's two daughters, were sufficient, since the rest had wives of their own, though in another country; all which cargo arrived safe, no doubt to their exceeding comfort, who, with this addition, were about sixty or seventy people, besides children.

At this place, my truly honest and pious clergyman left me; for a ship being ready to set sail for Lisbon, he asked me leave to go thither; but I assure you, it was with the greatest reluctance I parted from a person, whose virtue and piety merited the greatest esteem.

From the Brazils, we made directly over the Atlantic ocean, to the Cape of Good Hope, having a tolerable good voyage, steering for the most part S. E. We were on a trading voyage, and had a supercargo on board, who was to direct all the ship's motions after she arrived at the Cape, only being limited to a certain number of days, for stay, by charter party, at the several ports she was to go to. At the Cape, we only took in fresh water, and then sailed for the

coast of Coromandel; we were there informed, that a French man of war of 50 guns, and two large merchant ships, were sailed for the Indies, but we heard no more of them.

In our passage, we touched at the island of Madagascar, where, though the inhabitants are naturally fierce and treacherous, and go constantly armed with bows and lances, yet for some time they treated us civilly enough; and, in exchange for knives, scissars, and other trifles, they brought us eleven good fat bullocks, which we took partly for present fresh victuals, and the remainder to salt for the ship's use.

So curious was I to view every corner of the world where I came to, that I went on shore as often as I could. One evening when on shore, we observed numbers of the people stand gazing at us at a distance. We thought ourselves in no danger, as they had hitherto used us kindly. However, we cut three boughs out of a tree, sticking them at a distance from us, which, it seems, in that country, is not only a token of truce and amity, but when poles or boughs are set up on the other side, it is a sign the truce is accepted. In these treaties, however, there is one principal thing to be regarded, that neither party come beyond one another's three poles or boughs; so that the middle space is not only secure, but is also allowed as a market for traffic and commerce: when the truce is thus accepted, they stick up their javelins and lances at the first poles, and come on unarmed; but, if any violence is offered, away they run to their poles, take up their weapons, and then the truce is

at an end. This evening, it happened that a greater number of people than usual, both men and women, traded among us for such toys as we had, with such great civility, that we made us a little tent of large boughs of trees, some of the men resolving to lie on shore all night: But, for my part, I and some others took our lodging in the boat, with boughs of trees spread over it, having a sail spread at the bottom to lie upon. About two o'clock in the morning, we were awakened by the firing of muskets, and our men crying out for help, or else they would all be murdered. Scarce had we time to get the boat ashore, when our men came plunging themselves into the water, with about four hundred of the islanders at their heels. We took up seven of the men, three of them very much wounded, and one left behind killed, while the enemy poured their arrows so thick among us, that we were forced to make a barricade, with boards lying at the side of the boat, to shield us from danger; and, having got ready our fire arms, we returned them a volley, which wounded several of them, as we could hear by their cries. In this condition we lay till break of day, and then making signals of distress to the ship, which my nephew the captain heard and understood, he weighed anchor, and stood as near the shore as possible, and then sent another boat with ten hands in her to assist us; but we called to them not to come near, informing them of our unhappy condition. However, they ventured; when one of the men taking the end of a tow line in his one hand, and keeping our boat between him and our

adversaries, swam on board us, and made fast our line to the boat; upon this, slipping our cables, they towed us out of the reach of their arrows, and quickly after, a broadside was given them from the ship, which made a most dreadful havock among them. When we got on board, we examined into the occasion of this fray; the men who fled informed us, that an old woman, who sold milk within the poles, had brought a young woman with her, who carried roots or herbs, the sight of whom so much tempted our men, that they offered rudeness to the maid, at which the old woman set up a great cry; nor would the sailors part with the prize; but carried her among the trees, while the old woman went, and brought a whole army down upon them. At the beginning of the attack, one of our men was killed with a lance, and the fellow who began the mischief, paid dear enough for his mistress, though as yet we did not know what had become of him; the rest luckily escaped. The third night after the action, being curious to understand how affairs stood, I took the supercargo, and twenty stout fellows with me, and landed about two hours before midnight, at the same place where those Indians stood the night before, and there we divided our men into two bodies, the boatswain commanding one, and I another. It was so dark, that we could see nobody, neither did we hear any voice near us: but by and by the boatswain falling over a dead body, we agreed to halt till the moon should rise, which we knew would be in an hour after. We perceived here no fewer than two and thirty bodies upon the

ground, whereof two were not quite dead. Satisfied with this discovery, I was for going on board again ; but the boatswain and the rest told me , they would make a visit to the Indian town, where those dogs, so they called them, resided, asking me at the same time to go along with them ; for , they did not doubt , besides getting a good booty, but they should find Tom Jeffery there, for that was the unhappy man we missed. But I utterly refused to go , and commanded them back, being unwilling to hazard their lives , as the safety of the ship wholly depended upon them. Notwithstanding all I could say to them; they all left me but one, and the supercargo : so we three returned to the boat, where a boy was left, resolving to stay till they returned. At parting I told them I supposed most of them would run the same fate with Tom Jeffery. To this they replied , *Come , boys, come along, we'll warrant we'll come off safe enough :* and so away they went, notwithstanding all my admonitions , either concerning their own safety, or the preservation of the ship. Indeed , they were gallantly armed , every man having a musket, bayonet, and a pistol, besides cutlasses , hangers , pole-axes , and hand grana- does. They came to a few Indian houses at first , which not being the town they expected, they went farther , and finding a cow tied to a tree , they concluded that she would be a sufficient guide , and so it proved ; for , after they untied her , she led them directly to the town, which consisted of above two hundred houses, several families living in some of the huts together. At their arrival , all being in a profound

sleep, the sailors agreed to divide themselves into three bodies, and set three parts of the town on fire at once, to kill those that were escaping, and plunder the rest of the houses. Thus desperately resolved, they went to work; but the first party had not gone far, before they called out to the rest, that they had found Tom Jeffery; whereupon they all ran up to the place, and found the poor fellow indeed hanging up naked by one arm, and his throat cut almost from ear to ear: in a house that was hard by the tree they found sixteen or seventeen Indians, who had been concerned in the fray, two or three of them being wounded, who were not gone to sleep; this house they set on fire first, and, in a few minutes after, five or six places more in the town appeared in flames. The conflagration spread like wild fire, their houses being all of wood, and covered with flags or rushes. The poor affrighted inhabitants endeavoured to run out to save their lives, but they were driven back into the flames by the sailors, and killed without mercy. At the first house above mentioned, after the boatswain had slain two with his pole-axe, he threw a hand-granado into the house, which bursting, made a terrible havock, killing and wounding most of them; and their king and most of his train, who were then in that house, fell victims to their fury, every creature of them being either smothered or burnt. All this while they never fired a gun, lest the people should awaken faster than they could overpower them. But the fire awakened them fast enough, which obliged our fellows to keep together in bodies. By this time

the whole town was in a flame, yet their fury rather increased, calling out to one another to remember Tom Jeffery. The terrible light of this conflagration made me very uneasy, and roused my nephew the captain, and the rest of his men, who knew nothing of the matter. When he perceived the dreadful smoke, and heard the guns go off, he readily concluded his men were in danger; he, therefore, takes another boat, and comes ashore himself, with thirteen men well armed. He was greatly surprised to see me and only two men in the boat, but more so when I told him the story; but though I argued with him, as I did with his men, about the danger of the voyage, the interests of the merchants and owners, and the safety of the ship, yet my nephew, like the rest, declared, that he would rather lose the ship, his voyage, his life, and all, than his men should be lost for want of help: and so away he went. For my part, seeing him resolved to go, I had not power to stay behind. He ordered the pinnace back again for twelve men more, and then we marched directly as the flame guided us. But surely never was such a scene of horror beheld, or more dismal cries heard, except when Oliver Cromwell took Drogheda in Ireland, where he neither spared man, woman, or child.

The first object, I think, we met with, was the ruins of one of their habitations, before which lay four men and three women killed, and two more burnt to death among the fire, which was now decaying. Nothing could appear more barbarous than this revenge: none more cruel than the authors of it.

As we went on, the fire increased, and the cry proceeded in proportion. We had not gone much farther, when we beheld three naked women, followed by sixteen or seventeen men, flying with the greatest swiftness from our men, who shot one of them in our fight. When they perceived us, whom they supposed also their murderers, they set up a most dreadful shriek, and both of them swooned away in the fright. This was a sight which might have softened the hardest heart: and, in pity, we took some ways to let them know we would not hurt them, while the poor creatures, with bended knees, and lifted up hands, made piteous lamentations to us to save their lives. I ordered our men not to hurt any of the poor creatures whatsoever; but being willing to understand the occasion of all this, I went among these unhappy wretches, who neither understood me, nor the good I meant them. However, being resolved to put an end to this barbarity, I ordered the men to follow me. We had not gone fifty yards before we came up with the boatswain, with four of our men at his heels, all of them covered with blood and dust, and in search of more people to satiate their vengeance. As soon as we saw them, we called out, and made them understand who we were; upon which they came up to us, setting up a halloo of triumph, in token that more help was come. Noble captain, said he to my nephew, I'm glad you're come: we have not half done with these villanous hell-hound dogs, we'll root out the very nation of them from the earth, and kill more than poor Tom

has hairs upon his head : and thus he went on till I interrupted him. Blood-thirsty dog ! said I, will your cruelty never end ? I charge you touch not one creature more ; stop your hands, and stand still, or you're a dead man this moment. Why, Sir, said he, you neither know whom you are protecting, nor what they have done : but, pray, come hither, and behold an instance of compassion, if such can merit your clemency ; and with that he shewed me the poor fellow with his throat cut, hanging upon the tree.

Indeed, here was enough to fill their breasts with rage, which, however, I thought had gone too far, agreeable to these words of Jacob to his sons Simeon and Levi ; *Curfed be their anger, for it was fierce ; and their wrath, for it was cruel.* But this fight made my nephew and the rest as bad as they ; nay ; my nephew declared, his concern was only for his men ; as for the people, not a soul of them ought to live. Upon this, the boatswain and eight more directly turned about, and went to finish the intended tragedy ; which being out of my power to prevent, I returned back both from the dismal sight, and the piteous cries of those unfortunate creatures, who were made victims to their fury. Indeed, it was an egregious piece of folly in me to return to the boat with but one attendant ; and I had very near paid for it, having narrowly escaped forty armed Indians, who had been alarmed by the conflagration ; but having passed the place where they stood, I got to the boat, accompanied with the supercargo, and so went on board, sending the pinnace back again, to assist the
men

men in what might happen. When I had got to the boat, the fire was almost extinguished, and the noise abated; but I had scarce been half an hour on board the ship, when I heard another volley given by our sailors, and a great smoke, which, as I afterwards found, was our men falling upon those houses and persons that stood between them and the sea: but here they spared the wives and children, and killed only the men, to the number of about sixteen or seventeen. By the time they got to the shore, the pinnace and the ship's boat were ready to receive them, and they all got safe on board, not a man of them having received the least hurt, except two, one of whom strained his foot, and the other burnt his hand a little; for they met with no resistance, the poor Indians being unprepared, amazed, and confounded.

I was extremely angry with every one of them, but particularly with the captain, who, instead of cooling the rage of the men, had prompted them on to further mischief: nor could he make me any other excuse, but, that as he was a man, he could not master his passions at the sight of one of his men so cruelly murdered. As for the rest, knowing they were not under my command, they took no notice of my anger; but rather boasted of their revenge. According to all their accounts, they killed or destroyed about one hundred and fifty men, women, and children, besides burning the town to ashes. They took their companion Tom Jeffery from the tree, covered him with some of the ruins, and so left him. But, however this action of our men might

seem to them justifiable, yet I always openly condemned it with the appellation of the *Massacre of Madagascar*. For, though they had slain this Jeffery, yet certainly he was the first aggressor, by attempting to violate the chastity of a young innocent woman, who venturing down to them, on the faith of the public capitulation, which was so treacherously broken.

While we were under sail, the boatswain would often defend this bloody action, by saying, *that the Indians had broke the truce the night before, by shooting one of our men without just provocation: and what if the poor fellow had taken a little liberty with the wench, he ought not to have been murdered in so villanous a manner: and that they had acted nothing but what the divine laws commissioned to be done to such homicides.* However, I was in the same mind as before, telling them that they were murderers, and bid him depend upon't, that God would blast their voyage for such an unparalleled piece of barbarity.

When we came into the gulf of Persia, five of our men, who ventured on shore, were either killed or made slaves by the Arabians, the rest of them having scarce time to escape to their boat. This made me upbraid them afresh with the just retribution of heaven for such actions; upon which the boatswain very warmly asked me, Whether those men on whom the tower of Siloam fell, were greater sinners than the rest of the Galileans? and besides, Sir, said he, none of these five poor men that are lost, were with us at the massacre of Madagascar, as you call it;

and, therefore, your reprehension is very unjust, and your application improper. Besides, added he, you are continually using the men very ill, upon this account, and being but a passenger yourself, we are not obliged to bear it; nor can we tell what ill designs you may have to bring us to judgment for it in England; and, therefore, if you do not leave this discourse, as also not concern yourself with any of our affairs, I will leave the ship, and not sail among such dangerous company.

All this I heard very patiently; but, it being often repeated, I at length told him, the concern I had on board was none of his business: that I was a considerable owner in the ship, and therefore had a right to speak in common, and that I was no way accountable to him, nor to any body else. As no more passed for some time after, I thought all had been over. At this time we were in the road of Bengal, where, going on shore with the supercargo, one day, in the evening, as I was preparing to go on board, one of the men came to me, and told me, I need not trouble myself to come to the boat, for that the cockswain and others had ordered him not to carry me on board any more. This insolent message much surprised me; yet I gave him no answer to it, but went directly and acquainted the supercargo, entreating him to go on board, and, by acquainting the captain with it, prevent the mutiny which I perceived would happen. But before I had spoken this, the matter was effected on board; for no sooner was he gone off in the boat, but the boatswain,

gunner, carpenter, and all the inferior officers, came to the quarterdeck, desiring to speak with the captain; and there the boatswain made a long harangue, exclaiming against me, as before mentioned, that, if I had not gone ashore peaceably, for my own diversion, they, by violence, would have compelled me for their satisfaction: that, as they had shipped with the captain, so they would faithfully serve him; but, if I did not quit the ship, or the captain oblige me to it, they would leave the ship immediately: hereupon, turning his face about by way of signal, they all cried out, ONE and ALL, ONE and ALL.

You may be sure, that though my nephew was a man of great courage, yet he could not be but surprised at their sudden and unexpected behaviour; and, though he talked stoutly to them, and afterwards expostulated with them, that, in common justice to me, who was a considerable owner in the ship, they could not turn me, as it were, out of my own house, which might bring their lives in danger, should they ever be taken in England; nay, though he invited the boatswain on shore to accommodate matters with me; yet all this, I say, signified nothing: they would have nothing to do with me; and they were resolving to go on shore, if I came on board. Well, said my nephew, if you are so resolved, permit me to talk with him, and then I have done: and so he came to me, giving me an account of their resolution, how one and all designed to forsake the ship when I came on board, for which he

was mightily concerned. I am glad to see you, nephew, said I, and rejoice it is no worse, since they have not rebelled against you: I only desire you to send my necessary things on shore, with a sufficient sum of money, and I will find my way to England, as well as I can. Though this grieved my nephew to the heart, yet there was no remedy but compliance; in short, all my necessaries were sent me, and so this matter was over in a few hours.

I think I was now near a thousand leagues farther off England by sea, than at my little kingdom, except this difference, that I might travel by land over the Great Mogul's country to Surat, from thence up to Bassora, by sea up the Persian gulf, then take the way of the caravans over the Arabian desert to Aleppo and Scanderoon, there take shipping to Italy, and so travel by land into France, and from thence cross the sea to England.

My nephew left me two persons to attend me; one of them was his servant, and the other clerk to the purser; who engaged to be mine. I took lodgings in an English woman's house, where several French, one English, and two Italian merchants resided. The handsome entertainment I met with here, occasioned me to stay nine months considering what course I should take. Some English goods I had with me of great value, besides a thousand pieces of eight, and a letter of credence for more, if there was such necessity. The goods I soon disposed of to advantage, and bought here several good diamonds, which I could easily carry about with me.

One morning the English merchant came to me , as being very intimate together, *Countryman*, said he , *I have a project to communicate to you , which , I hope , will suit to both our advantage. To be short , Sir , we are both in a remote part of the world from our country ; but yet in a place where men of business may get a great deal of money. Now , if you will put a thousand pounds to my thousand pounds , we will hire a ship to our satisfaction : you shall be captain , I will be merchant : and we'll go a trading voyage to China ; for why should we lie still like drones , while the whole world is in a continual motion.*

This proposal soon got my consent , being very agreeable to my rambling genius ; and the more so ; because I looked upon my countryman to be a very sincere person ; it required some time before we could get a vessel to our mind , and sailors to man it accordingly ; at length , we bought a ship , and got an English mate , boatswain , and gunner , Dutch carpenter , and three Portuguese foremast-men ; and, for want of others , made shift with Indian seamen. We first sailed to Achin, in the island of Sumatra, and then to Siam , where we bartered our wares for some arrack and opium , the last of which bore a great price among the Chinese ; in a word , we went up to Suskan , making a very great voyage ; and, after eight months time , I returned to Bengal , very well satisfied with this adventure , having not only got a sufficient quantity of money, but an insight of getting a great deal more.

The next voyage my friend proposed to me , was

to go among the Spice islands, and bring home a load of cloves from the Manillas, or thereabouts, islands belonging partly to Spain, but where the Dutch trade very considerably. We were not long preparing for this voyage, which we made no less successful than the last, touching at Bornea, and several other places which I do not perfectly remember, and returning home in about five months time. We soon sold our spices, which were chiefly cloves, and some nutmegs, to the Persian merchants, who carried them away for the gulf; and, in short, making five to one advantage, we were loaded with money.

Not long after my friend and I had made up our accounts, to our entire satisfaction, there came in a Dutch coaster from Batavia, of about two hundred tons. The crew of this vessel pretended themselves so sickly, that there were not hands sufficient to undertake a voyage; and the captain having given out that he intended to go to Europe, public notice was given that the ship was to be sold. No sooner did this come to our ears, but we bought the ship, paid the master, and took possession. We would also have very willingly entertained some of the men: but they having received their share of booty, were not to be found, being altogether fled to Agra, the great city of the Mogul's residence; and from thence were to travel to Surat, and so by sea to the Persian gulf. And indeed they had reason to fly in this manner: for the truth of it was, the pretended captain was the gunner only, and not the commander: that having been on a trading voyage, they were at-

tacked on shore by the Malayans, who killed three men, and the captain; after whose death the other eleven men run away with the ship to the bay of Bengal, and left the mate and five men more on shore; but of this affair we shall have occasion to speak at more length hereafter.

However they came by the ship, methought we bought it honestly; neither did we suspect any thing of the matter; when the man shewed us a bill of sale for the ship (undoubtedly forged) to one Emanuel Clostershoven, which name he went by. And so without any more to do, we picked up some Dutch and English seamen, resolving for another voyage for cloves among the Philippine and Molucca islands; in short, we continued thus five or six years, trading from port to port with extraordinary success; in the seventh year we undertook a voyage to China, designing to touch at Siam, and buy some rice by the way. In this voyage, contrary winds beat us up and down for a considerable time among the islands in the straits of Molucca. No sooner were we clear of those rugged seas, but we perceived our ship had sprung a leak, which obliged us to put into the river Cambodia, which lies northward of the gulf, and goes up to Siam. -

One day as I was on shore refreshing myself, there comes to me an Englishman, who was a gunner's mate on board an English East India ship, riding up the river, near the city of Cambodia. Sir, said he, you may wonder at my business, having never seen me in your life; but though I am a stranger, I have something to tell

you that very nearly concerns you ; and indeed it is the imminent danger you are in , has moved me to give you this timely notice. Danger ! said I , *what danger ? I know of none , except my ship being leaky , for which I design to have her run aground to morrow morning. Sir ,* said he , *I hope you will be better employed , when you shall hear what I have to say to you. You know the town of Cambodia is about 15 leagues up this river : about three leagues on this side of it , there lies two Dutch and three English ships. And would you venture here , without considering what strength you had to engage them ?* I knew not what he meant by this discourse , and turning short upon him , *Sir ,* said I , *I know no reason I have to be afraid either of any English or Dutch ships. I am no interloper , and what business have they then with me ?* *Well , Sir ,* said the man , *if you do think yourself secure , all as I can say , you must take your chance : however , I am very sorry you are so deaf to good advice ; but I assure you if you do not put to sea immediately , you will be attacked by five long boats full of men , hanged your self for a pirate , if you are taken , and the particulars examined afterwards. I thought , Sir ,* added he , *I might have met with better reception for such a singular piece of service.* *Sir ,* said I , *I was never ungrateful to any man : but pray explain yourself , and I'll go on board this minute , whether the leak be stopped or no. Why , Sir ,* said he , *to be short , because time is precious , the matter is this : You know well enough that you was with the ship at Sumatra , where your captain was murdered by the Malaysans , with three of his sailors ; and that either you , or some who were on board*

you, ran away with the ship, and are since turned pirates at sea. Now, Sir, this is the sum of what I had to say; and I can positively assure you, that if you be taken, you will be executed without much ceremony; for undoubtedly you cannot but be sensible what little law merchant ships shew to pirates, whenever they fall into their unmerciful hands.

Sir, said I, I thank you for your kind information; and though, I am sure, no man could come more honestly by the ship than I have done, yet knowing their enterprize, and being satisfied of your honest intention, I'll be upon my defence. *Prithee, Sir, said the man, don't talk of being upon your defence, the best that you can make is to be out of danger; and therefore, if you have any regard to your life, and the lives of your men, take the advantage, without fail, of putting out to sea at high water; by which means, as you have a whole tide before you, you will be gone too far out of their reach before they can come down.*

I am mighty well satisfied, said I, in this particular, and of your kindness, which merits my greatest esteem: pray, Sir, what amends shall I make you? He replied, *I know not what amends you are willing to make, because you may have some doubts of its certainty: but, to convince you of the truth of what I say, I have one offer to make to you. On board one of the English ships, I have nineteen months pay due to me, and this Dutchman that is with me has seven months pay due to him, which if you will make good to us, we will go along with you. If you shall find, that there is nothing in what we have said, then we shall desire no-*

thing: but, when you are convinced that we have saved the ship, your life, and the lives of the men, we will leave the whole to your generosity.

So reasonable did this every way appear, that I immediately consented, and we went directly on board. As soon as we came on board, my partner calls joyfully out, that they had stopped the leak. Well, thank God, said I, but pray let us weigh anchor forthwith. Weigh ! said he, what is the meaning of this hurry ? Pray, ask no questions, said I, but all hands to work, without losing a moment's time : Upon which, in great surprise, the captain was called, who immediately ordered the anchor to be got up ; and though the tide was not quite down, yet, being assisted with a little land breeze, we stood out to sea. I then called my partner into the cabin, and related the story at large, which was confirmed, and more amplified by the two men I had brought on board. Scarce had we finished our discourse, upon this head, but a sailor came to the cabin door, with a message from the captain, that we were chased by five sloops full of armed men. Very well, said I, it is plain now there is something in it. And so, going upon deck, I told all the men there was a design for seizing the ship, and of executing us for pirates ; and asked them, whether they would faithfully stand by us, and by one another ? To which they unanimously replied, that they would fight to their last drop of blood. I then asked the captain, which way he thought best for us to manage the battle ? Sir, said he, *the only method is to keep them off*

with our great shot as long as we are able , and then have recourse to our small arms : and when both these fail us , then retire to close quarters ; when perhaps the enemy , wanting materials , can neither break open our bulk heads , nor get in upon us . Mean time the gunner was ordered to bring two guns to bear fore and aft out of the steerage , and so load them with musket bullets and small pieces of old iron ; and the deck being cleared , we prepared for the engagement, still, however, keeping out at sea. The boats followed us with all the sail they could make , and we could perceive the two foremost were English, which outfailed the rest by two leagues , and which we found would come up with us: hereupon , we fired a gun without ball , intimating that they should bring to , and we put out a flag of truce , as a signal for parley ; but , finding them crowding after us , till they came within shot , we took in our white , and hanging out the red flag , immediately fired at them with ball : we then called to them with a speaking trumpet , bidding them at their peril keep off.

But all this signified nothing ; for , depending upon the strength that followed them, they were resolutely bent for mischief : hereupon, I ordered them to bring the ship to , by which means , they lying upon our broadside , we let fly at them at once , one of whom carried away the stern of the hindermost boat, and obliged them not only to take down their sail , but made them all run to the head of the boat , to keep them from sinking ; and so she lay by , having enough of it. In the mean time , we prepared to

welcome the foremost boat in the same manner. While we were doing this, one of the three hindermost boats came up to the relief of that which was disabled, and took the men out of her. We again called to parley with them; but, instead of an answer, one of the boats came close under our stern; whereupon, our gunner let fly his two chace guns, but missing, the men in the boat shouted, and waving their caps, came on with greater fury. To repair this seeming disgrace, the gunner soon got ready, and, firing the second time, did a great deal of mischief among the enemy. We waved again, and, bringing our quarter to bear upon them, fired three guns more, when we found the boat a-sinking, and several men already in the sea; hereupon, manning our pinnace, I gave orders to save as many as they could, and instantly to come on board, because the rest of their boats were approaching: accordingly they did so, and took up three of them, one of whom was almost past recovery; and then crowding all the sail we could, after our men came on board, we stood out farther to sea, so that the other three boats gave over their chace, when they came up to the first two. Thus delivered from imminent danger, we changed our course to the eastward, quite out of the course of all European ships.

Being now at sea, and inquiring more particularly of the two seamen, the meaning of all this, the Dutchman, at once, let us into the secret. He told us, that the fellow who sold us the ship was an ar-rant thief, who had run away with her; that the

captain was treacherously murdered on the coast of Molucca by the natives there, with three of his men; that he, the Dutchman, and four more, being obliged to have recourse to the woods for their safety, at length escaped by means of a Dutch ship, in its way to China, which had sent their boat on shore for fresh water: That, after this, he went to Batavia, where two of the seamen belonging to the ship (who had deserted the rest in their travels) arrived, and there gave an account that the fellow who ran away with the ship had sold her at Bengal to a set of pirates who went a cruising, and had already taken one English, and two Dutch ships richly laden.

Now, though this was absolutely false, yet, concerning us directly, my partner truly said, that our deliverance was to be esteemed so much the more, by reason, had we fallen into their hands we could have expected nothing from them but immediate death, considering our accusers would have been our judges: and, therefore, his opinion was, to return directly to Bengal, where, being known, we could prove how honestly we came by the ship, of whom we bought her, and the like, and where we were sure of some justice; at least would not be hanged first, and judged afterwards. I was at first of my partner's opinion; but when I had more seriously considered of the matter, I told him we ran a great hazard in attempting to return, being on the wrong side of the straits of Molucca, and that if, upon alarm given, we should be taken by the Dutch of Batavia or English elsewhere, our running away would be a

sufficient evidence to condemn us. This danger indeed startled not only my partner, but likewise all the ship's company; so we changed our former resolution, and resolved to go to the coast of Tonquin, and so to that of China, where, pursuing our first design as to trade, we might likewise have an opportunity to dispose of the ship some way or other, and to return to Bengal in any country vessel we could procure. This being agreed to, we steered away N. N. E. about 50 leagues off the usual course to the east, which put us to some inconveniencies. As the wind blew steadily against us, our voyage became very tedious, and we began to be afraid of want of provision; and what was still worse, we apprehended, that as those ships, from whose boats we had escaped, were bound to China, they might get before us, and have given fresh information, which might create another vigorous pursuit. Indeed, I could not help being grieved, when I considered that I, who had never wronged or defrauded any person in my life, was now pursued like a common thief; and, if taken, to run the greatest danger of being executed as such; and, though innocent, I found myself under the necessity of flying for my safety: and thereby escape being brought to shame, of which I was even more afraid than of death itself. It was easy to read my dejection in my countenance. My mind was oppressed, like those unhappy innocent persons, who, being overpowered by blasphemous and perjured evidences, wickedly resolved to take away their lives, or ruin their reputation, have no other recourse in this world to ease their for-

row, but sighs, prayers, and tears. My partner seeing me so concerned, encouraged me as well as he could; and after describing to me the several ports of that coast, he told me, he would either put me in on the coast of Cochinchina, or else in the bay of Tonquin, from whence we might go to Macao, a town once possessed by the Portuguese, and where still many European families resided.

To this place we steered, and, early next morning, came in sight of the coast; but thought it adviseable to put into a small river where we could, either over land, or by the ship's pinnace, know what vessels were in any ports thereabouts. This happy step proved our deliverance; for, next morning, there came to the bay of Tonquin two Dutch ships, and a third without any colours; and, in the evening, two English ships steered the same course. The river where we were was but small, and run but a few leagues up the country northward: the country was wild and barbarous, and the people thieves, having no correspondence with any other nation, dealing only in fish, oil, and such gross commodities; and one barbarous custom they still retained, that when any vessel was unhappily shipwrecked upon their coast, they make the men prisoners or slaves; so that now we might fairly say we were surrounded by enemies both by sea and land.

As the ship had been leaky, we took the opportunity, in this place, to search her, and to stop up the places which let in the water. We accordingly lightened her, and bringing our guns and other

moveable things to one side, we essayed to bring her down, that we might come at her bottom: but, upon second consideration, we did not think it safe to let her lie on dry ground, neither indeed was the place convenient for it. The inhabitants, not used to such a sight as to see a ship lie down on one side, and heel in towards the shore, not perceiving her men, who were at work on her bottom, with stages and boats on the off-side, presently imagined the ship had been cast away, and lay fast on the ground. Agreeable to this supposition, they surrounded us with ten or twelve large boats, with a resolution, undoubtedly, to plunder the ship, and to carry away those they found alive for slaves to their king. But when they perceived our men hard at work on the ship's bottom and side, washing, graving, and stopping her, it filled them all with such surprise, that they stood gazing as though they were confounded. Nor could we imagine what their design was; however, for fear of danger, we handed down arms and ammunition, to those at work, in order to defend themselves; and, indeed, this precaution was absolutely necessary; for, in a quarter of an hour after, the natives, concluding it was really a shipwreck, and that we were saving our lives and goods, which they thought belonged to them, came down upon our men, as though it had been in a line of battle. We lay at present but in a very unfit posture to fight; and before the stages could be got down, or the men in the boat come on board as they were ordered, the Cochinchineses were upon them, and two of their

boats boarding our longboat, they began to lay hold of our men as prisoners. The first they seized was a stout English sailor, who never fired his musket, like a fool, as I imagined, but laid it down in the boat; but he knew what he was doing; for, by main force, he dragged the Pagan out of the boat into ours by the two ears, and knocked his brains out against the boat's gunnel: a Dutchman that was next him snatched up the musket, and knocked down five more with the but-end of it; however, this was doing very little to their number; but a strange unexpected accident, which rather merits laughter than any thing else, gave our men a complete victory over them.

It seems the carpenter, who was preparing to grave the outside of the ship, as well as to pay the seams, where he caulked to stop the leaks, had gotten two kettles just let down in the boat, one filled with boiling pitch, and the other with rosin, tallow, oil, and such stuff as the shipwrights use: the carpenter's man had a great iron laddle with which he used to supply the workmen with hot stuff, and as two of the enemies entered the boat where the fellow stood, he saluted them with a full laddle of the hot boiling liquor, which, the poor creatures being half naked, made them roar out, and jump into the sea. Well done, Jack, says the carpenter, give them the other dose: and so stepping forward himself, takes a mop, and dipping it into the pitch pot, he and his man so plentifully flung it among them, as that none escaped being scalded: upon which, they all made the

best of their way, crying and howling in such a frightful manner, that, in all my adventures, I never heard the like. And, indeed, never was I better pleased with any conquest than I was with this, there being so little bloodshed, and having an aversion to killing such savage wretches, (more than was necessary), as knowing they came on errands, which their laws and customs made them think were just and equitable. By this time, all things being in order and the ship swimming, they found their mistake, so they did not venture a second attack. Thus ended our merry fight; and, having got some rice, bread, roots, and sixteen good hogs, on board the day before, we set sail, not daring to go into the bay of Tonquin, but steerèd N. E. towards the isle of Formosa, or as though we would go to the Manillas, or Philippine islands, for fear of meeting with any European ships. When we anchored at the isle Formosa, the inhabitants, not only courteously supplied us with provisions and fresh water, but dealt very fairly and honestly, with us in their bargains and agreements. From this place we steerèd north, keeping still off the coast of China, till we were beyond all its ports where European ships usually come; and, at length, being come to the latitude of thirty degrees, we resolvèd to put into the first trading port we should come at; and standing for the shore, a boat came off two leagues to us with an old Portuguese pilot on board, who offerèd his service; we very gladly accepted him, and sent the boat back again. And now, having the old man on board, I talkèd to

him of going to Nanquin, the most northward part of the coast of China. What will you do there? said he, smiling. I told him we would sell our cargo, and purchase callicoes, raw and wrought silks, tea, &c. and so return the same way back. O, said he, you had better put in at Macao, where you may buy China wares as cheap as at Nanquin, and sell your opium at a greater advance. But, said I, we are gentlemen as well as merchants, and design to see the great city of Pekin, and the magnificent court of the monarch of China. Why then, said he, you should go to Ningpo, where there is a navigable river that goes through the heart of that vast empire, two hundred and seventy leagues from the sea, which crosses all the rivers, passes considerable hills, by the help of the sluices and gates, and goes even up to the city of Pekin. You may go to Nankin, if you please, and travel to Pekin, and there is a Dutch ship just before bound that way. At the name of a Dutch or English ship, I was struck with confusion; they being as great a terror to me in this vessel, as an Algerine man of war is to them in the Mediterranean. The old man finding me troubled, Sir, said he, I hope the Dutch are not now at war with your nation: No, said I, but God knows what liberty they may take when out of the reach of the law. Why, says he, what occasion is there for peaceable merchants to fear? For, believe me, they never meddle with any but PIRATES.

At the mentioning of the word *pirates*, my countenance turned to that of scarlet; nor was it possible

for me to conceal it from the old pilot ; who taking notice of it , *Sir* , said he , *take what course you please , I'll do you all the service I can*. Seignior , said I , I am a little concerned at your mentioning *pirates* ; I hope there are none such in these seas , because you see in what a weak condition we are to defend ourselves. O , *Sir* , said he , *if that's all , don't be concerned , I don't remember one in these seas these fifteen years , except about a month ago one was seen in the bay of Siam , but she is gone to the southward ; neither was she built for a privateer , but was run away with by a reprobate captain , and some of his men , the right captain having been murdered by the Malaysans*.

What ! said I , (as though ignorant of what had happened) did they kill the captain ? No , said he , *it is generally thought the Malaysans murdered him ; but perhaps they might procure them to do it , and therefore they justly deserve hanging*. The rogues were lately discovered in the bay of Siam , in the river of Cambodia , by some Dutchmen who belonged to the ship , and had much ado to escape the five boats that pursued them , but they have all given such an exact description of the ship , that where-ever they find her , they will be sure to know her ; and they have solemnly sworn to give no quarter to the captain or the seamen , but hang them every one up at the yard arm , without any formal business of bringing them to a court of judicature.

Being sensible , that , having the old man on board , he was incapable of doing me any mischief , Well , Seignior , said I , it is for this very reason I would have you carry us up to Nanquin , where nei-

ther English nor Dutch ships come: and I must tell you, their captains are a parcel of rash, proud, insolent rascals, that neither know what belongs to justice, nor how to behave themselves as the laws of God or nature direct; fellows that would prove murderers to punish robbers, and take upon them to adjudge innocent men to death, without any proof to prove them guilty; but perhaps I may live to call them to account for it, in a place where they may be taught how justice is to be executed. And so I told him all the story of buying the ship, and how we were saved by the means of two men: that the murder of the captain by the Malayans, as also the running away with the ship, I believed to be true; but that we, who bought it, were turned pirates, was a mere fiction, to cover their cowardice and foolish behaviour, when they attacked us, and the blood of those men we killed in our own just defence, lay to their door, who sent to attack us by surprise.

Sir, said the old man amazed, *you have taken the right course to steer to the north, and, if I might advise you, I would have you sell your ship in China, and buy or build another in that country; and I'll procure people to buy the one and sell the other.* Well but, Seignior, said I, if I sell the ship in this manner, I may bring some innocent persons into the same danger as I have gone through, perhaps worse, even death itself, whereby I should be as guilty of their murder as villanous executioners. *That need not trouble you,* says the old man; *I'll find a way to prevent that; for these command-*

ers you talk of I know very well, and will inform them rightly of the matter as you have related, and I am persuaded they will not only believe me, but act more cautiously for the future. And will you deliver one message from me to them? Yes, said he, if you will give it under your hand, that I may prove it is not of my own production. Hereupon I wrote a large account of their attacking me in their longboat, the pretended reason and unjust design of it; that they had done what they might be ashamed of, and could not answer for at any tribunal in England. But this letter was writ in vain. Providence ordered things another way. We sailed directly for Nanquin, and in about thirteen days sail, came to an anchor at the south west point of the great gulph of that place, where we learned that two Dutch ships were gone the length before us, and that we should certainly fall into their hands. We were all at a great loss in this exigency, and would very gladly have been on shore almost any where; but our old pilot told me, that if I would sail to the southward about two and forty leagues, there was a little port called Quinchang, where no European ships ever came, and where we might consider what was further to be done. Accordingly, we weighed anchor the next day, calling only twice on shore by the way to get fresh water. The country people very courteously sold us roots, tea, rice, fowls, and other provisions. After five days sail we came to the port, and landed with unspeakable joy. We resolved to dispose of ourselves and effects in any other way possible, than enter on board that ill fated vessel more; for no state

can be more miserable than a continued fear, which is a life of death, a confounder of our understandings, that sets the imagination at work to form a thousand frightful things that may never happen. And we scarce slept one night, without dreaming of halters, yard-arms, or gibbets; of fighting, being taken, and being killed; nay so violent were our apprehensions, that we would bruise our hands and heads against the sides of the cabin, as though actually engaged. The story of the Dutch cruelty at Amboyna often came into our thoughts when awake; and, for my part, I thought my condition very hard, that, after so many difficulties, and such signal deliverances, I should be hanged in my old age, though innocent of any crime that deserved such punishment; but then religion would seem to represent to me, as though the voice of it had said, Consider, O man! what sins you have been formerly guilty of, which now thou art called to an account for, to expiate with thy blood! And as to thy innocence, what art thou more innocent than thy blessed Redeemer Jesus Christ, who suffered for thy offences, and to whose providence you ought to submit, let what will happen? After this natural courage would inspire me to resist to the last drop of blood, and sooner die than suffer myself to be taken by boorish, rascally Dutchmen, who had arts to torment beyond death itself.

But now, thank kind Heaven, being ashore, our old pilot procured us a lodging and a warehouse for our goods; it was a little hut with a large warehouse joining to it, all built with canes, and pallisadoed round

round with large ones, to keep out pilfering thieves, which are very numerous in that country. The magistrates allowed us a little guard during the night, and we employed a centinel with a kind of halbert for three pence a day. The fair or mart, we found, had been over for some time; however, there remained in the river four junks and two Japan ships, the merchants of the latter being on shore. In the first place, our old pilot brought us acquainted with the missionary Roman priests, who were converting the people to Christianity: two of them were reserved, rigid, and austere, applying themselves to the work they came about with great earnestness; but the third, who was a Frenchman, called father Simon, was of a freer conversation, not seemingly so serious and grave, yet no worse Christian than the other two, one of whom was a Portuguese, and the other a Genevise. Father Simon, it seems, was appointed to go to Pekin, the royal seat of the Emperor of the Chinese; and he only waited for another priest, who was ordered from Macao to accompany him. We never met together, but he was prompting me to keep him company in that journey: Sir, said he, I will shew you the glorious things of this mighty empire, and a city, the city of Pekin, far exceeding London or Paris, put them both together. One day in particular, being at dinner with him, I shewed some inclination to go; which made him press the more upon me and my partner, to gain our perfect consent. *But, father Simon, said my partner, what satisfaction can you have in our company, whom you esteem as heretics, and consequently op-*

jeſts not worthy your regard? Oh! ſaid he, you may be as good Catholics in time as thoſe I hope to convert to our religion. *And ſo*, ſaid I, *we ſhall have you preaching to us all the way, inſtead of pleaſing us with a deſcription of the country.* Sir, ſaid he, however our religion may be vilified by ſome people, it is very certain it neither divelts us of good manners or Chriſtian charity; and as we are gentlemen, as ſuch we may converſe together, without making one another uneaſy.

But we ſhall leave him a while, to conſider our ſhip and the merchandiſe which we had to diſpoſe of. There was but very little trade in the place where we were; and I was once reſolved to venture to ſail to the river Kilam, and ſo to the city of Nanquin: but Providence ordered it otherwiſe, by our old pilor's bringing a Japan merchant to us, to ſee what goods we had. He immediately bought our opium, for which he gave us a very good price in gold by weight, ſome wedges of which were about ten or eleven ounces. It came into my head, that perhaps he might buy the ſhip too; and I ordered his interpreter to propoſe it to him. He ſaid nothing then, but ſhrunk up his ſhoulders; yet in a few days after he came accompanied by a miſſionary prieſt, who was his interpreter, with this propoſal, *That as he had bought a great quantity of our goods, he had not money enough to purchaſe our ſhip; but iſſpleaſed, he would hire her, with all my men, to go to Japan, and from thence with another loading to the Philippine iſlands, the freight of both which he would very willingly pay to us before; and*

at their return to Japan, would buy the ship. Upon this we asked the captain and his men, if they were willing to go to Japan; to which they unanimously agreed. While this was in agitation, the young man my nephew left to attend me, told me, *That as I did not care to accept this prospect of advantage, he would manage it for me as I pleased, and render me a faithful account of his success, which should be wholly mine.* Indeed I was very unwilling to part with him; but considering it might be for the young man's good, I discoursed my partner about it, who, of his own generosity, gave him his share of the vessel, so that I could do no otherwise than give him mine; but, however, we let him have but the property of half of it, and preserved a power, that when we met in England, if he had obtained success, he should account to us for one half of the profits of the ship's freight, and the other should be his own. Thus having taken a writing under his hand, away he sailed to Japan, where the merchant dealt very honestly by him, got him a licence to come on shore, sent him loaded to the Philippines with a Japanese supercargo, from whence he came back again loaded with European goods, cloves, and other spiceries. By this voyage he cleared a considerable sum of money, which determined him not to sell his ship, but to trade on his own account: so he returned to the Manillas, where, getting acquaintance, he made his ship free, was hired by the governor privately to go to Acapulco in America, on the Mexican coast, with a licence to travel to the great city of Mexico. This traffic turned out

greatly to account, and my friend finding means to get to Jamaica, returned nine years after exceeding rich into England.

In parting with the ship, it comes in course to consider of those men who had saved our lives when in the river of Cambodia: and though, by the way, they were a couple of rogues, who thought to turn pirates themselves, yet we paid them what they had before demanded, and gave each of them a small sum of money, making the Englishman a gunner, and the Dutchman a boatswain, with which they were very well contented.

We were now above 1000 leagues farther from home, than when at Bengal. All the comfort we could expect was, that there being another fair to be kept in a month's time, we might not only purchase all sorts of that country's manufactures, but very possibly find some Chinese junks, or vessels from Tonquin, to be sold, which would carry us and our goods wheresoever we pleased. Upon these hopes, we resolved to continue; and, to divert ourselves, we took several little journies in the country. About ten days after we parted with our ship, we travelled to see the city of Nanquin. This city lies in latitude 30 deg. north of the line; it is regularly built, and the streets are exactly straight, and cross one another in direct lines, which sets it out to the greatest advantage. At our return, we found the priest was come from Macao that was to accompany father Simon to Pekin. That father earnestly solicited me to accompany him, and I referred him to my partner. In short, we both agreed

and prepared accordingly; and we were so lucky as to have liberty to travel among the retinue of one of their Mandarins, who is a principal magistrate, and much revered by the people.

We were five and twenty days travelling through this miserable country, infinitely populous, but as indifferently cultivated; and yet their pride is infinitely greater than their poverty, insomuch that the priests themselves derided them. As we passed by the house of one of their country gentlemen, two leagues off of Nanquin, we had the honour, forsooth, to ride with the Chinese squire about two miles. Never was Don Quixote so exactly imitated! Never such a compound of pomp and poverty seen before!

His habit, made of callico, was dirty, greasy, and very proper for a Merry Andrew or Scaramouch, with all its tawdry trappings, as hanging sleeves, tassels, &c. though torn and rent in almost every part: his vest underneath it was no less dirty, but more greasy, resembling the most exquisite floyen, or greasy butcher. His horse (worse than Rosinante, or the famous steed of doughty Hudibras) was a poor starved, decrepit thing, that would not sell for thirty shillings in England: and yet this piece of worshipful pomp was attended with ten or twelve slaves, who guarded their master to his country-seat. We stopped at a little village for refreshment; and when we came by the country-seat of this great man, we found him sitting under a tree before his door, eating a mess of boiled rice, with a great piece of garlic in the middle, and a bag filled with green pepper by him, and ano-

ther plant like ginger, together with a piece of lean mutton in it: this was his Worship's repast; but pray observe the state of the fool! two women slaves brought him his food, which being laid before him, two others appeared to perform their respective offices; one fed him with a spoon, while the other scraped off what fell upon his beard and taffery vest, and gave it to a particular favourite to eat. And thus we left the wretch pleased with the conceit of our admiring his magnificence, which rather merited our scorn and detestation.

At length we arrived at the great city of Pekin, accompanied by two servants, and the old Portuguese pilot, whose charges we bore, and who served us as an interpreter by the way. We had scarce been a week at Pekin, but he comes laughing to us, *Ah! Seignior Inglish, said he, me someting tell you make your heart glad, but make me sorry; for you bring me here 25 days journey, and now you leave me go back alone: and which way shall I make my port after, without de ship, without de horse, without pecune?* so he called money in his broken Latin. He then informed me, that there was a great caravan of Muscovite and Polish merchants in the city, who were preparing to set out for Muscovy by land within six weeks; and, that he was certain we would take this opportunity, and consequently that he must go home by himself. Indeed this news infinitely surpris'd and pleas'd me. Are you certain of this? said I. *Yes, Sir, said he, me sure it's true.* And so he told me, that having met an old acquaintance of his, an Arme-

nian, in the street, who was among them, and who had come from Astracan, with a design to go to Tonquin, but for certain reasons having altered his resolution, he was now resolved to go with the caravan, and to return by the river Wolga to Astracan. Well, Seignior, said I, don't be discontented about your returning alone; and, if by this means I can find a passage to England, it will be your own fault if you return to Macao at all. And so consulting with my partner, what was best to be done, he referred it to me as I pleased, having our affairs so well settled at Bengal, that, if we could convert the good voyage we had made in China silks, wrought or raw, he would be satisfied to go to England, and so return to Bengal in the Company's ships. Thus resolved, we agreed, that, if our pilot would go with us, we would bear his charges either to Muscow or England; and to give him in a present the sum of 170 pounds Sterling. Hereupon we called him in, and told him the cause of his complaint should be removed, if he would accompany us with the caravan; and, therefore, we desired to know his mind. At this he shook his head, *Great long journey*, said he, *me no pecune, carry me to Muscow, or keep me there*. But we soon put him out of that concern, by making him sensible of what we would give him here to lay out to the best advantage, and as for his charges, we would set him safe on shore, God willing, either in Muscovy, or England, as he pleased, at our own charge, except the carriage of his goods. At this proposal; he was like a man transported, telling us, he would go with us all the world

over; and we made preparations for our journey, but it was near four months before all the merchants were ready.

In the mean time, my partner and the pilot went express to the port where we first put in, to dispose of what goods had been left there, while I accompanied a Chinese merchant, who was going to Nanquin, and there bought 29 pieces of damask, with about 300 more of other fine silks; and, by the time my partner returned to Pekin, I had them all carried thither: our cargo in silks amounted to 4500 l. Sterling, which, together with tea, fine calicoes, nutmegs, and cloves, loaded 18 camels for our share, besides what we rode upon, with two or three spare horses, and two more laden with provisions: the company now was very great, making about 400 horse, and above 120 men, well armed and provided. We were of several nations, among whom were five Scots merchants inhabiting in Muscow, and well experienced in trade.

We set out from Pekin the beginning of February our style; and in two days more, we passed through the gate of the great China wall, which was erected as a fortification against the Tartars, being 100 English miles long. We then entered a country not near so populous, chiefly under the power of plundering Tartars, several companies of whom we perceived riding on poor starved horses, contemptible as themselves, without order or discipline. One time our leader for the day gave us leave to go a-hunting. But what do you think we hunted? only a parcel of sheep, which indeed exceeded any in the world for wildness and

swiftness ; but while we were pursuing this game , it was our chance to meet with about forty Tartars , who no sooner perceived us , but one of them blew a horn , at the sound of which there soon appeared a troop of forty or fifty more , at about a mile's distance . Hereupon , one of the Scots merchants (who knew their ways) ordered us to advance towards them , and attack them immediately . As we advanced , they let fly a volley of arrows , which happily fell a little short of us : this made us halt a little , to return the compliment with bullets ; and then being led up by the bold Scot , we fired our pistols in their faces , and drew out our swords ; but there was no occasion ; for they flew like timorous sheep , and only three of them remained , beckoning to the rest to come back . But our brave commander gallops up to them by himself , shot one dead , knocks another off his horse , while the third ran away : and thus ended our battle with the Tartars .

We travelled a month more through the Emperor of China's dominions ; and at length coming to one of their towns about a day and a half's journey from the city of Naum , I wanted to buy a camel . The person I spoke to would have brought me one , but , like a fool , I must go along with him , about two miles from the village . My old pilot and I walked on foot , forsooth , for some variety , when coming to the place where the camels were kept as in a park guarded by Chinese soldiers , we there agreed and bought one , which the Chinese man that came with me led along the road . But we had not gone far , before we were attacked by

five Tartars, mounted on horseback, two of whom seized the man, took the camel from him, and rode away, while the other three approached us, the first of whom suddenly seized me as I was drawing my sword, the second knocked me down; but my old trusty Portuguese, taking a pistol out of his pocket, which I knew nothing of, and coming up to the fellow that struck me, he with one hand pulled him off his horse, and then shot him dead upon the spot; then taking his scymitar, he struck at the man that stooped us, but missing him, cut off one of his horse's ears, the pain of which made him throw his rider to the ground. The poor Chinese, who had led the camel, seeing the Tartar down, runs to him, and seizing upon his pole-axe, wrenched it from his hands, and knocked his brains out. But there was another Tartar to deal with who seeming neither inclined to fight nor fly, and my old man having begun to charge his pistol, the very sight of it struck such a terror into the wretch, that away he scoured, leaving my old pilot, rather my champion and defender, an absolute victory.

By this time being awakened from my trance, I began to open my eyes, wondering where I was, having quite forgot all that passed; but my senses returning, and feeling a great pain in my head, and seeing the blood was running over my clothes, I instantly jumped upon my feet, and grasped my sword in my hand, with a resolution to take revenge; but no enemies now remained, except the dead Tartar, with his horse standing by him. The old man seeing me recovered, whom he thought slain, ran towards me, and embra-

ced me with the greatest tenderness, at the same time examining into my wound, which was far from being mortal; when we returned to the village, the man demanded payment for his camel, which I refusing, we brought the cause before a Chinese judge, who acted with great impartiality: Having heard both sides, he asked the Chinese man that went with me, whose servant he was? Sir, said he, I am nobody's, but went, with the stranger at his request: why then, said the judge, you were the stranger's servant for the time, and the camel being delivered to his servant, it is the same as though delivered to himself, and accordingly he must pay for it. Indeed, the case was so fairly stated, that I had nothing to object to it; so, having paid for that I was robbed of, I sent for another, but did not go myself to fetch it, as I had enough of that sport before.

The city of Naum is a frontier of the Chinese empire, so fortified, as some will tell you, that millions of Tartars cannot batter down their walls; by which certainly one might think one of our cannons would do more execution than all their legions.

When we were within a day's march of that city, we had information that the governor had sent messengers to every part of the road, to inform the travellers and caravans to halt, till a guard was sent to protect them from the numerous bodies of Tartars that lately appeared about the city. This news put us into great consternation; but, obeying the orders, we stopt; and, two days after, there came two hundred soldiers from a garrison of the Chinese, and three

hundred more from Naum ; thus guarded both in the front and rear , with our own men on the flanks, we boldly advanced, thinking we were able to combat with ten thousand Mogul Tartars , if they appeared.

Early next morning , in our march from a little well situated town called Changu, after having passed a river , and entered upon a desert of about 15 or 16 miles over , we soon beheld , by a cloud of dust that was raised , that the enemy was approaching. This much dispirited the Chinese. My old pilot took notice of it , and called out, Seignior Inglesse, those fellows must be encouraged , or they will ruin us all : and I am afraid , if the Tartars attack us, they will all run away. Why, Seignior, said I , what shall be done in this case ? Done, says he, why, let fifty of our men advance , and flank them on each wing. I know the fellows will fight well enough in company. We accordingly took his advice , and marched , fifty to the right wing , and the same number to the left , and with the rest made a line of reserve , leaving the last two hundred men to guard the camels , or to assist us as occasion required.

Thus prepared a party of the enemy came forward, viewing our posture, and traversing the ground on the front of our line. Hereupon , we ordered the two wings to move on , and give them a salute with their shot ; which accordingly was done. This put a stop to their proceedings; for immediately wheeling off to their left , they all marched away , and we saw no more of them. They had undoubtedly given an ac-

count to their companions of what reception they might expect, which made them so easily give over their entreprife.

When we came to the city of Naum, we returned the governor hearty thanks, and dispersed a hundred crowns among the foldiers that guarded us. We rested there one day, and then proceeded on our travels, passing several great rivers and deserts, and on the 13th of April, we came to the frontiers of Muscovy, the first town of which was called Argun.

This happy occasion, as I thought, of coming into a Christian country, made me congratulate the Scots merchant upon it. He smiled at that, telling me not to rejoice too soon; for, said he, except the Russian foldiers in garrison, and a few inhabitants of the cities upon the road, all the rest of this country, for above a thousand miles, is inhabited by the most ignorant and barbarous Pagans.

We advanced from the river Arguna, by moderate journeys, and found convenient garrisons on the road, filled with Christian foldiers, for the security of commerce, and for the convenient lodgings of travellers; but the inhabitants of the country were mere Pagans worshipping the sun, moon, and stars. We particularly observed this idolatry near the river Arguna, at a city inhabited by Tartars and Russians, called Nerisinky. Being curious to see their way of living, while the caravan continued to rest themselves in that city, I went to one of their villages, where there was to be one of their solemn sacrifices. There I beheld, upon the stump of an old tree, an idol of wood, more

ugly than the representation of the devil himself : its head resembled no living creature ; its ears were as big and as high as goats horns , a crooked nose , four cornered mouth , and horrible teeth : it was clothed in sheeps skins , had a great Tartar bonnet , with two horns growing through it , and was eight feet high , without feet , legs , or proportion. Before this idol there lay 16 or 17 people , who brought their offerings , and were making their prayers , while at a distance stood three men , and one bullock , as victims to this ugly monster.

Such stupendous sacrilege as this , in robbing the true God of his honour , filled me with the greatest astonishment and reflection ; which soon turning to rage and fury , I rode up to the image , and cut in pieces the bonnet that was upon his head with my sword , so that it hung down by one of the horns , while one of my men that was with me , pulled at it by his sheep's skin garment. Immediately an hideous howling and outcry ran through the village , and two or three hundred people coming about our ears , we were obliged to fly for it.

But I had not done with the monster ; for the caravan being to rest three nights in the town , I told the Scot merchant what I had seen , and that I was resolved to take four or five men well armed with me , in order to destroy the idol , and shew the people how little reason they had to trust in a God who could not save himself. At first he laughed at me , representing the danger of it , and when it was destroyed , what time had we to preach to them better things , whose

zeal and ignorance was in the highest degree, and both unparalleled? that if I should be taken by them, I should be served as a poor ruffian, who contemned their worship; that is, to be stripped naked, and tied to the top of the idol, there shot at with arrows till my body was full of them, and then burnt as a sacrifice to the monster: but, Sir, said he, since your zeal carries you so far, rather than you should be alone I will accompany you, and bring a stout fellow equal to yourself, if you will, to assist you in this design: and accordingly he brought one captain Richardson, who, hearing the story, readily consented; but my partner declined it, being altogether out of his way: and so we three, and my man-servant, resolved to execute this exploit about midnight; but, upon second thoughts, we deferred it to the next night, by reason that the caravan being to go from thence next morning, we should be out of the governor's power. The better to effectuate my design, I procured a Tartar's sheepskin robe, a bonnet, with bow and arrows, and every one of us got the like habits. The first night we spent in mixing combustible matter with aqua vitæ, gun powder, &c. having a good quantity of tar in a little pot: next night we came up to the idol about eleven o'clock, the moon being up. We found none guarding it; but we perceived a light in the house, where we had seen the priests before. One of our men was for firing the hut, another for killing the people, and a third for making them prisoners, while the idol was destroyed. We agreed to the latter: so knocking at the door, we seized the first that opened it, and

stopping his mouth, and tying his feet, we left him. We served the other two in the like manner; and then the Scots merchant set fire to the composition, which frightened them so much, that we brought them all away prisoners to their wooden god. There we fell to work with him, daubing him all over with tar mixed with tallow and brimstone, stopping his eyes, ears, and mouth full of gun powder, with a great piece of wild fire in his bonnet, and environed it with dry forage. All this being done, we unloosed and ungagged the prisoners, and set the idol on fire, which the gunpowder blowing up, the shape of it was deformed, rent, and split, which the forage utterly consumed; for we staid to see its destruction, lest the ignorant idolatrous people should have thrown themselves into the flame. And thus we came away undiscovered, in the morning appearing as busy among our fellow-travellers, as nobody could have suspected any other but that we had been in our beds all night.

Next morning we set out, and had gone but a small distance from the city, when there came a multitude of the people of the country to the gates of the city, demanding satisfaction of the Russian governor for insulting their priests, and burning their great *Cham Chi-Thaungu*, who dwelt in the sun, and no mortal would violate his image, but some Christian miscreants; and being already no less than thirty thousand strong, they announced war against him and all his Christians.

The governor assured them he was ignorant of the matter, and that none of his garrison had been abroad; that indeed there was a caravan that went away that

morning, and that he would fend after them to enquire into it; and whoever were the offenders should be delivered into their hands. This satisfied them for the present, but the governor sent to inform us, that if any of us had done it, we should make all the haste away possible, while he kept them in play as long as he could. Upon this we marched two days and two nights, stopping but very little, till at last we arrived at a village called Plothus, and hastened to Jarawena, another of the Czar's colonies. On the third day, having entered the desert, and passed the lake called Shaks Ofer, we beheld a numerous body of horse on the other side of it to the north, who supposed we had passed on that side of the lake; but having either found their mistake, or being certainly informed of the way we took, they came upon us towards the dusk of the evening, just as we had pitched our camp between two little but very thick woods, with a little river running before our front, and some felled trees with which we covered our rear; a precaution we always took, and which we had just finished, when the enemy came up. They did not fall on us immediately, but sent three messengers, demanding the men who had insulted their priests, and burnt their god *Cham Chi-Thaungu*, that they might be burnt with fire, that if this was complied with, they would peaceably depart; but if not, they would destroy one and all of us. Our men stared at one another on receipt of this message, but *Nobody* was the word, as indeed nobody knew it, but he who did it. Upon which the leader of the caravan returned for answer, That they were

peaceable merchants , who meddle with none of their priests and gods ; and therefore desired them not to disturb us, and put us to the necessity of defending ourselves. But so far was this from satisfying them, that the next morning, coming to our right, they let fly a volley of arrows among us , which happily did not hurt any , because we sheltered ourselves behind our baggage. We expected however to come to a closer engagement; but were happily saved by a cunning fellow , a Cossack , who obtaining leave of the leader to go out , mounts his horse, rides directly from our rear, and taking a circuit, comes up to the Tartars, as though he had been sent express , and tells them a formal story, that the wretches who had burnt the *Cham-Chi-Thaungu* , were gone to *Siheilka* , with a resolution to burn the god *Shal-Isar*, belonging to the Tongueses. Upon which , believing this cunning Tartar , who was servant to our Muscovites, away they drove to *Shiheilka* , and in less than three minutes were out of our sight , nor did we ever hear of them more.

When we came to the city of *Jarawena* , we rested five days , and then entered into a frightful desert , which held us twenty three days march, infested with several small companies of robbers, or Mogul Tartars who never had the courage to attack us. After we had passed over this desert, we found several garrisons to defend the caravans from the violence of the Tartars. In particular, the Governor of *Adinskoy* offered us a guard of fifty men to the next station , if we apprehended any danger. The people here retained the same paganism and barbarity, only they were not

so dangerous , being conquered by the Muscovites. The clothing , both of men and women , is of the skins of beasts , living under the ground in vaults and caves , which have a communication with one another. They have idols almost in every family; besides, they adore the sun and stars, water and snow; and the least uncommon thing that happens in the elements , alarms them as much as thunder and lightning does the unbelieving Jews.

Nothing remarkable occurred in our march through this country. When we had got through the desert , after two days farther travel, we came to Jenezoy, a Muscovite city , on the great river so called , which, we were told , parted Europe from Asia. The inhabitants here were very little better, though intermixed with the Muscovites; but the wonder will cease, when I inform my reader of what was observed to me , that the Czar rather converts the Tartars with soldiers than clergymen , and is more proud to make them faithful subjects, than good Christians.

From this city to the river Oby, we travelled over a pleasant, fruitful, but very uncultivated country, for want of good management and people, and those few are mostly Pagans. This is the place where the Muscovite criminals are banished to , if they are not put to death. The next city we came to , was the capital city of Siberia, called Tobolsky, when, having been almost seven months on our journey, and winter drawing on apace , my partner and I consulted about our particular affairs , in what manner we should dispose of ourselves. We had been told of sledges and rein

deer to carry us over the snow in the winter season; the snow being frozen so hard, that the sledges can run upon the surface without any danger of going down. As I was bound to England, I now behoved either to go with the caravan to Jeroslaw, from thence west to Narva, and the gulf of Finland, and so by land or sea to Denmark; or else I must leave the caravan at a little town on the Dwina, and so to Archangel, where I was certain of shipping either to England, Holland, or Hamburgh. One night I happened to get into the company of an illustrious but banished prince, whose company and virtues were such as made me propose to him a method how he might obtain his liberty. *My dear friend*, said he, *as I am here happily free from my miserable greatness, with all its attendants of pride, ambition, avarice, and luxury, if I should escape from this place, those pernicious seeds may again revive, to my lasting disquietude; therefore let me remain in a blessed confinement, for I am but flesh, a mere man, with passions and affections as such; O be not my friend and tempter too!* Struck dumb with surprise, I stood silent a while; nor was he in less disorder, by which perceiving he wanted to give vent to his mind, I desired him to consider of it, and so withdrew. But, about two hours after, he came to my apartment: *Dear friend*, said he, *though I cannot consent to accompany you, I shall have this satisfaction in parting, that you leave me an honest man still; but as a testimony of my affection to you, be pleased to accept this present of fables.*

In return for his compliment, I sent my servant

next morning to his Lordship, with a small present of tea, two pieces of China damask, and four little wedges of gold; but he only accepted the tea, one piece of damask, and a piece of gold, for the curiosity of the Japan stamp that was upon it. Not long after, he sent for me, and told me, That what he had refused himself, he hoped, upon his account, I would grant to another, whom he should name: In short, it was his only son, who was about 200 miles distance from him, on the other side of the Oby, whom he said he would send for, if I gave my consent. This I soon complied with; upon which he sent his servants next day for his son, who returned in twenty days time, bringing seven horses loaded with valuable furs. At night, the young lord was conducted incognito into our apartment, where his father presented him to me. *hi* We then concerted the best ways for travelling, and after having bought a considerable quantity of fables, black fox-skins, fine ermines, &c. (which I sold at Archangel at a good price), we set out from this city the beginning of June, making a small caravan, being about thirty two horses and camels, of which I represented the head. My young lord had with him a very faithful Siberian servant, well acquainted with the roads: we shunned the principal towns and cities, as Tumen, Soli-Kamoiskoi, and several others, by reason of their strictness in examining travellers, lest any of the banished persons of distinction should escape. Having passed the river Kama, we came to a city on the European side, called Soloy Kamoskoi where we found the people mostly Pagans, as before. We then

passed a defart of about two hundred miles over, but in other places, it is near seven hundred. In passing this wild place, we were beset by a troop of men on horseback, and about five and forty men armed with bows and arrows. At first they looked earnestly on us, and then placed themselves in our way. We were above sixteen men, and drew up a little line before our camels. My young lord sent out his Siberian servant, to know who they were; but, when he approached them, he neither knew a word they said, nor would they admit him to come near them at his peril, but prepared to shoot him. At his return, he told us he believed them to be Calmuck Tartars; and that he thought there were more of them upon the defart. This was but a small comfort to us; yet seeing a little grove about a quarter of a mile's distance, we moved to it, by the old Portuguese pilot's advice, without meeting with any opposition. Here we found a marshy piece of ground, and a spring of water running into a little brook on one side, which joined another like it a little farther off, and these two formed the head of the river called Writska. As soon as we arrived, we went to work, cutting down great arms off the trees, and laying them hanging (not quite off) from one tree to another. In this situation we waited the motions of the enemy, without perceiving any advancement they made toward us. About two hours before night, being joined by some others, in all about fourscore horse, among whom we fancied were some women, they came upon us with great fury. We fired without ball, calling to them, in the Russian

tongue, to know their business: but they, either not knowing, or seeming not to understand us, came directly to the wood-side, not considering that we were so fortified, as that they could not break in. Our old pilot, the Portuguese, proved both our captain and engineer, and desired us not to fire, till they came within pistol shot; and when he gave the word of command then to take the surest aim: but he did not bid us give fire, till they were within two pikes length of us, and then we killed fourteen of them, wounded several, as also their horses, having every one of us loaded our pieces with two or three bullets at least. So much were they surpris'd at our undauntedness, that they retired about an hundred roods from us. In the mean while, we loaded our pieces again, and fallying out, secured four or five of their horses, whose riders we found were killed, and perceived them to be Tartars. About an hour after, they made another attempt, to see where they might break in; but finding us ready to receive them, they retired.

All that night we wrought hard, in strengthening our situation, and barricading the entrances into the woods; but, when day-light came, we had a very unwelcome discovery; for, the enemy being encouraged by their assistance, had set up eleven or twelve tents in form of a camp, about three quarters of a mile from us. I must confess, I was never more concerned in my life, giving myself and all that I had over for lost. And my partner declared, that as the loss of his goods would be his ruin, before they should be taken from him, he would fight to the last drop of his blood.

As we could not pretend to force our way, we had recourse to a stratagem; we kindled a large fire; which burnt all night; and no sooner was it dark, but we pursued our journey towards the pole, or north star, and travelling all night, by six o'clock in the morning we came to a Russian village, called Kertza, and from thence came to a large town named Ozonoys, where we heard that several troops of Calmuck Tartars had been abroad upon the desert, but that we were past all danger. In five days after we came to Veuflima, upon the river Witzedga; from thence we came to Lawrenskoy, on the third of July, where, providing ourselves with two luggage boats, and a convenient bark, we embarked the seventh, and arrived at Archangel the eighteenth, after a year, five months, and three days journey, including the eight months and odd days at Tobolski. We came from Archangel the twentieth of August in the same year, and arrived at Hamburgh the thirtieth of September. Here my partner and I made a very good sale of our goods, both those of China and Siberia; when dividing our effects, my share came to 3474 *l*, 17 *s*. 3 *d*. after all the losses we had sustained, and charges we had been at. Here the young lord took his leave of me, in order to go to the court of Vienna, not only to seek protection, but to correspond with his father's friends. After we had staid four months in Hamburgh, I went from thence over land to the Hague, where embarking in the packet, I arrived in London the tenth of January 1705, after ten years and nine months absence from England.

Robinson

Robinson Crusoe's *Vision of the Angelic World.*Chap. I. *Of SOLITUDE.*

HOWEVER solitude is looked upon as a restraint to the pleasures of the world, in company and conversation, yet it is a happy state of exemption from a sea of trouble, an inundation of vanity and vexation, of confusion and disappointment. While we enjoy ourselves, neither the joy nor sorrow of other men affect us: we are then at liberty, with the voice of our soul, to speak to God. By this we shun such frequent trivial discourse, as even becomes an obstruction to virtue: and how often do we find, that we had reason to wish we had not been in company, or said nothing when we were there? for either we offend God by the impiety of our discourse, or lay ourselves open to the violence of designing people by our unguarded expressions; and frequently feel the coldness and treachery of pretended friends, when once involved in trouble and affliction; of such unfaithful intimates (I should say enemies) who rather by false inuendoes would accumulate miseries upon us, than honestly assist us when suffering under the hard hand of adversity. But in a state of solitude, when our tongues cannot be heard, except by the great Majesty of Heaven, how happy are we, in the blessed enjoyment of conversing with our Maker! It is then we make him our friend, which sets us above the envy and contempt of wicked men. When a man converses with himself,

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he is sure that he does not converse with an enemy. Our retreat should be to good company, and good books. I mean not by solitude, that a man should retire into a cell, a desert, or a monastery: which would be altogether an useless and unprofitable restraint: for as men are formed for society, and have an absolute necessity and dependence upon one another; so there is a retirement of the soul, with which it converses in heaven, even in the midst of men; and indeed no man is more fit to speak freely, than he who can, without any violence to himself, refrain his tongue, or keep silence altogether. As to religion, it is by this the soul gets acquainted with the hidden mysteries of the holy writings; here she finds those flood of tears, in which good men wash themselves day and night, and only makes a visit to God, and his holy angels. In this conversation the truest peace and most solid joy are to be found; it is a continual feast of contentment on earth, and the means of attaining everlasting happiness in heaven.

Chap. II. *Of H O N E S T Y.*

HONESTY is a virtue beloved by good men, and pretended to by all persons. In this there are several degrees: to pay every man his own, is the common law of honesty; but to do good to all mankind, is the chancery law of honesty: and this chancery-court is in every man's breast, where his conscience is a lord chancellor. Hence it is, that a miser, though he pays every body their own, cannot be an honest man, when

he does not discharge the good offices that are incumbent on a friendly, kind, and generous person: for, saith the prophet Isaiah, chap. xxxii. ver. 7. 8. *The instruments of a churl are evil: he deviseth wicked devices to destroy the poor with lying words, even when the needy speaketh right. But the liberal soul deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand.* It is certainly honesty to do every thing the law requires; but should we throw every poor debtor in prison till he has paid the utmost farthing, hang every malefactor without mercy, exact the penalty of every bond, and the forfeiture of every indenture, this would be downright cruelty, and not honesty: and, it is contrary to that general rule, *To do to another, that which you would have done unto you.* Sometimes necessity makes an honest man a knave; and a rich man an honest man, because he has no occasion to be a knave. The trial of honesty is this: Did you ever want bread, and had your neighbour's loaf in keeping, and would starve rather than eat it? Were you ever arrested, having in your custody another man's cash, and would rather go to goal, than break it? if so, this indeed may be reckoned honesty. For King Solomon tells us, *That a good name is better than life, and is a precious ointment, and which, when a man has once lost, he has nothing left worth keeping.*

Chap. III. Of suffering AFFLICTIONS.

AFFLICTIONS are common to all mankind; and,

whether they proceed from losses, disappointments, or the malice of men, they often bring their advantages along with them: for this shews man the vanity and deceitfulness of this life, and is an occasion of rectifying our measures, and bringing us to a more modest opinion of ourselves: it tells us, how necessary the assistance of divine grace is unto us, when life itself becomes a burden, and death even desirable; but, when the greatest oppression comes upon us, we must have recourse to patience, begging of God to give us that virtue; and, the more composed we are under any trouble, the more commendable is our wisdom, and the larger will be our recompense. Let the provocation be what it will, whether from a good natured and conscientious, or wicked, perverse, and vexatious man; all this we should take as from the overruling hand of God, as a punishment for our sins. Many times injured innocence may be abused by false oaths, or the power of wicked, jealous, or malicious men; but we often find it, like the palm, rise the higher, the more it is depressed; while the justice of God is eminently remarkable in punishing those, one way or other, who desire to endeavour to procure the downfall of an innocent man: nor does God fail comforting an afflicted person, who, with tears and prayers, solicits the throne of Heaven for deliverance and protection. *David says, That his soul was full of trouble, and his life drew near unto the grave.* But certainly David's afflictions made him eminently remarkable, as particularly when pursued by King Saul, and hunted as a partridge over the mountains. But one thing

which stands by innocence, is the love of God; for, were we to suffer disgrace, nay, an ignominious death itself, what consolation does our innocence procure at our latest conflict, our last moments!

Chap. IV. *Of the immorality of conversation, and the vulgar errors of behaviour.*

As conversation is a great part of human happiness, so it is a pleasant sight to behold a sweet tempered man, who is always fit for it, to see an air of humour and pleasantness sit ever upon his brow, and even something angelic in his very countenance: whereas, if we observe a designing man, we shall find a mark of involuntary sadness break in upon his joy, and a certain insurrection in the soul, the natural concomitant of profligate principles.

They err very much, who think religion, or a strict morality, discomposes the mind, and renders it unfit for conversation: for, it rather inspires us to innocent mirth, without such a counterfeit joy as vicious men appear with; and indeed wit is as consistent with religion, as religion is with good manners; nor is there any thing in the limitation of virtue and religion that should abate the pleasures of this world, but, on the contrary, rather serves to increase them.

On the other hand, many men, by their own vice and intemperance, disqualify themselves for conversation. Conversation is immoral, where the discourse is indecent, immodest, scandalous, slanderous, and a-

buſive. How great is their folly, and how much do they expoſe themſelves, when they affront their beſt friend, even God himſelf, who laughs at the fool *when his fear cometh.*

The great ſcandal atheiſtical and immoral diſcourſe gives to virtue, ought, methinks, to be puniſhed by all good magiſtrates: make a man once ceaſe to believe a God, and he has nothing left to limit his ſoul. How incongruous is it to good government, that a man ſhall be puniſhed for drunkenneſs, and yet have liberty to affront, and even deny the Majeſty of Heaven? when if, even among men, one gives the lie to a gentlemman in company, or perhaps ſpeaks an affronting word, a quarrel will enſue, and a combat, and perhaps murder be the conſequence: at the leaſt he will proſecute him at law with the utmoſt virulence and oppreſſion.

The next thing to be refrained, is obſcene diſcourſe, which is the language only of proficients in debauchery, who never repent but in a goal or hoſpital; and whoſe carcaſes relish no better than their diſcourſe, till the body becomes too naſty for the ſoul to ſtay any longer in it.

Nor is falſe talking to be leſs avoided: for lying is the ſheep's clothing hung upon the wolf's back. It is the phariſee's prayer, the whore's buſs, the hypocrite's paint, the murderer's ſmile, the thief's cloke, it is Joab's embrace, and Judas's kiſs; in a word, it is mankind's darling ſin, and the devil's diſtinguiſhing character. Some add lies to lies, till it not only comes to be improbable, but even impoſſible too; others lie

for gain, to deceive, delude, and betray: and a third lies for sport, or for fun. There are other liars, who are personal and malicious; who foment differences, and carry tales from one house to another, in order to gratify their own envious tempers, without any regard or reverence to truth.

Chap. V. Of the present state of religion in the world.

I doubt, indeed, there is much more devotion than religion in the world, more adoration than supplication, and more hypocrisy than sincerity: and it is very melancholy to consider, what numbers of people there are furnished with the powers of reason and gifts of nature, and yet abandoned to the grossest ignorance and depravity. But it would be uncharitable for us to imagine (as some Papists, abounding with too much ill nature, the only scandal to religion, do) that they will certainly be in the state of damnation after this life; for how can we think it consistent with the mercy and goodness of an infinite Being, to damn those creatures, when he has not furnished them with the light of his gospel? or how can such proud, conceited, and cruel bigots, prescribe rules to the justice and mercy of God?

We are told by some people, that the great image which King Nebuchadnezzar set up to be adored by his people, held the representation of the sun in its right hand, as the principal object of adoration. But to wave this discourse of Heathens, how many self-contradicting principles are there held among Chri-

stians? and how do we doom one another to the devil while all profess to worship the same Deity, and to expect the same salvation?

When I was at Portugal, there was held at that time the court of justice of the inquisition. All the criminals were carried in procession to the great church, where eight of them were habited in gowns and caps of canvass, whereon the torments of hell were displayed, and they were condemned and burnt for crimes against the catholic faith and blessed Virgin.

I am sorry to make any reflection upon Christians, but, indeed, in Italy the Roman religion seems the most cruel and mercenary upon earth; and a very judicious person, who travelled through Italy from Turkey, tells us, " That there is only the face and
 " outward pomp of religion there; that the church
 " protects murderers and assassins, and then delivers
 " the civil magistrates over to Satan for doing justice; interdicts whole kingdoms, and shuts up the
 " churches for want of paying a few ecclesiastical
 " dues, and so puts a stop to religion for want of their
 " money; that the court of Inquisition burnt two
 " men for speaking dishonourably of the blessed Virgin: and the missionaries of China tolerated the
 " worshipping the devil by their new converts: that
 " Italy was the theatre, where religion was the grand
 " opera; and that the Popish clergy were no other
 " than the stage-players ".

As to religion in Poland, they deny Christ to be the Messiah, or that the Messiah has come in the flesh. And as to their Protestants, they are the followers of

Lælius Socinus, who denied our Saviour's divinity ; and have no concern about the divine inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

In Muscovy their churches are built of wood, and, indeed, they have but wooden priests, though of the Greek church : they pray as much to S. Nicholas, as Papists do to the Virgin Mary, for protection in all their difficulties or afflictions.

As to Lutherans, they only differ from the Romans in believing consubstantiation, instead of transubstantiation ; but, like them, they are much pleased with the external gallantry and pomp, more than the true and real practice of it.

In France I found a world of priests, the streets every where crouded with them, and the churches full of women ; but surely never was a nation so full of blind guides, so ignorant of religion, and even as void of morals, as those people who confess their sins to them.

Does it not seem strange, that, while all men own the Divine Being, there should be so many different opinions as to the manner of paying him obedience in the Christian church ? I know not what reason to assign for this, except it be their different capacities and faculties.

And, indeed, upon this account, we have perceived, in all Christian countries, what mortal feuds have been about religion : what wars and bloodshed have molested Europe, till the general pacification of the German troubles at the treaty of Westphalia ; and, since those times, what persecution in the same coun-

try among the churches of the Lutherans: and should I take a prospect at home, what unhappy divisions are between Christians in this kingdom, about Episcopacy and Presbytery, the church of England men and the Dissenters; opposing one another like St Paul and St Peter, even to the face; that is, they carry on the dispute to the utmost extremity.

It might be a question, why there are such differences in religious points, and why these breaches should be more hot and irreconcilable? All the answer I can give to this, is, that we enquire more concerning the truth of religion, than any other nation in the world; and the anxious concern we have about it, makes us jealous of every opinion, and tenacious of our own: and this is not because we are more furious and rash than other people; but the truth is, we are more concerned about them, and being sensible that the scripture is the great rule of faith, the standard for life and doctrine, we have recourse to it ourselves, without submitting to any pretended infallible judge upon earth.

There is another question, pertinent to the former, and that is, What remedy can we apply to this malady? And to this I must negatively answer. Not to be less religious, that we may differ the less. This is striking at the very root of all religious differences; for, certainly, were they to be carried on with a peaceable spirit, willing to be informed, our variety of opinions would not have the name of differences; nor should we separate in communion of charity, though we did not agree in several articles of religion,

Nor is there a less useful question to start, namely, Where will our unhappy religious differences end? To which, I hope, I may answer, In Heaven; there all unchristian and unbrotherly differences will find a period; there we shall embrace many a sinner, that here we think it a dishonour to converse with; and perceive many a heart we have broken here with censures, reproachings, and revilings, made whole again by the balm of the same Redeemer's blood. Here we shall perceive there have been other flocks than those of our fold: that those we have excommunicated, have been taken into that superior communion: and, in a word, that those contradicting notions and principles which we thought inconsistent with true religion, we shall then find reconcileable to themselves, to one another, and to the fountain of truth. If any man ask me, Why our differences cannot be ended on earth? I answer, Were we all thoroughly convinced, that then they would be reconciled, we would put an end to them before; but this is impossible to be done: for, as men's certain convictions of truth are not equal to one another, or to the weight or significance of such veracity; so neither can a general effect of this affair be expected on this side of time, on this side of the grave.

Before I conclude this chapter, I shall beg leave to discourse a little of the wonderful excellency of negative religion and negative virtue. The latter sets out, like the pharisee, with, God, I thank thee; it is a piece of religious pageantry; the hypocrite's hope: and, in a word, it is positive vice: for it is either a mask to

deceive others, or a mist to deceive ourselves. A man that is clothed with negatives, thus argues: I am not such a drunkard as my landlord, such a thief as my tenant, such a swearer as his neighbour: neither am I a cheat, an atheist, a rakish fellow, or a highwayman: no! I live a sober, regular, retired life: I am a good man, I go to church; God, I thank thee. Now, though a man boasts of his virtue in contradiction to the vices mentioned, yet a person had better have them altogether, than the man himself; for he is so full of himself, so persuaded that he is good and religious enough already, that he has no thoughts of any thing, except it be to pull off his hat to God Almighty now and then, and thank him, that he has no occasion for him; and has the vanity to think that his neighbours must imagine well of him too.

The negative man, though he is no drunkard, is yet intoxicated with the pride of his own worth: a good neighbour and peace-maker in other families, but a tyrant in his own: appears in church for a show, but never falls upon his knees in his closet; does all his alms before men, to be seen of them; eager in the duties of the second table, but regardless of the first; appears religious, to be taken notice of by men, but without intercourse or communication between God and his own soul: Pray, what is the man? or what comfort is there of the life he lives? he is insensible of faith, repentance, and a Christian mortified life; in a word, he is perfectly a stranger to the essential part of religion.

Let us for a while enter into the private and retired

part of his conversation : What notions has he of his mis-spent hours , and of the progress of time to the great centre and gulf of life , eternity ? does he know how to put a right value on time , or esteem the life-blood of his soul , as it really is , and act in all the moments of it , as one that must account for them ? If then you can form an equality between what he can do , and what he shall receive ; less can it be founded upon his negative virtue , or what he has forborn to do , and if neither his negative nor positive piety can be equal to the reward , and to the eternity that reward is to last for , what then is to become of the Pharisee , when he is to be judged by the sincerity of his repentance , and rewarded , according to the infinite grace of God , with a state of blessedness to an endless eternity ?

When the negative man converses with the invisible world , he is filled with as much horror and dread as Felix , when St Paul reasoned to him of temperance , righteousness , and of judgment to come : for Felix , though a great philosopher , of great power and reverence , was a negative man , and he was made sensible by the apostle , that , as a life of virtue and temperance was its own reward , by giving a healthy body , a clear head , and a composed life ; so eternal happiness must proceed from another spring ; namely , the infinite unbounded grace of a provoked God , who having erected a righteous tribunal , Jesus Christ would separate such as by faith and repentance he had brought home and united to himself by the grace of adoption , and on the foot of his having laid down his life as a ran-

fom for them, and appointed them to falvation, when all the philosophy, temperance, and righteousnefs in the world befides had been ineffectual. And this, I fay, it was, that made Felix, this negative man, tremble.

Chap. VI. *Of liftening to the voice of providence.*

THE magnificent and wife king Solomon bids us cry after knowledge, and lift up our voice for understanding; by which is meant, religious knowledge; for it follows: *Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God.* By which undoubtedly he meant, to enquire after every thing that he has permitted us to know, and not to fearch into thofe ways that are unfearchable, and are effectually locked up from our knowledge. Now, *as liftening to the voice of providence* is my prefent fubject, I intend, in the firft place, to write to thofe who own, 1. That there is a God, a firft great moving caufe of all things, an eternal power, prior, and confequently fuperior to all created power or being. 2. That this eternal power, which is God, is the fovereign creator and governor of heaven and earth.

To avoid all needlefs diftinctions, what perfons in the Godhead exercife the creating, and what the governing power, I offer that glorious text, Pfal. xxiii. 6, where the whole Trinity is intituled to the whole creating work: and therefore, in the next place, I fhall lay down thefe two propofitions.

I. *That the eternal God guides by his providence the whole univerfe, which was created by his power.*

II. *That this providence manifests a particular care over, and concern in, the governing and directing man, the most noble creature upon earth.*

It is plain, that natural religion proves the first, by intimating the necessity of a providence guiding and governing the world, from the consequence of the wisdom, justice, prescience, and goodness of the almighty Creator: for otherwise it would be absurd to think, that God should create a world, without any care or providence over it, in guiding the operations of nature, so as to preserve the order of his creation.

Revealed religion gives us a light into the care and concern of his providence, by the climate's being made habitable, the creatures subjected and made nourishing, and all vegetative life made medicinal; and all this for the sake of man, who is made viceroy to the King of the earth. The short description I shall give of providence is this: That it is that operation of the power, of the wisdom, justice, and goodness of God, by which he influences, governs, and directs, not only the means, but the events of all things, which concern us in this sublunary world; the sovereignty of which we ought always to reverence, obey its motions, observe its dictates, and listen to its voice. The prudent man foreseeeth the evil, and hideth himself; that is, as I take it, there is a secret providence intimates to us, that some danger threatens, if we strive not to shun it.

The same day that Sir John Hotham kept out Hull against the royal martyr King Charles I. the same day Sir John Hotham was put to death by the parliament

for that very action; the same day that the King himself signed the warrant for the execution of the Earl of Stafford, the same day of the month was he barbarously murdered by the blood-thirsty Oliverian crew: and the same day that King James II. came to the crown against the bill of exclusion, the same day he was voted abdicated by the parliament, and the throne filled with King William and Queen Mary. :

The voice of signal deliverances from sudden dangers, is not only a just call to repentance, but a caution against falling into the like danger; but such who are utterly careless of themselves after, shew a lethargy of the worst nature, which seems to me to be a kind of practical atheism, or at least a living in a contempt of Heaven, when he receives good at the hand of his Maker, but is unconcerned from whence it comes, or to thank the bountiful hand that gave it; neither, when he receives evil, does it alter his manner of life, or bring him to any state of humiliation.

We have a remarkable story of two soldiers being condemned to death in Flanders. The general being prevailed upon to spare one of them, ordered them to cast dice upon the drum-head for their lives; the first having thrown two sixes, the second fell a wringing his hands, having so poor a chance to escape: however, having thrown, he was surprised when he also threw other two sixes. The officer, appointed to see the execution, ordered them to throw again; they did so, and each of them threw fives; at which the soldiers that stood round, shouted, and said neither of them was to die. Upon this, the officer acquainted

the council of war, who ordered them to throw a third time, when they threw two fours; the general being acquainted with it, sent for the men, and pardoned them: I love, said he, in such extraordinary cases, to listen to the voice of providence.

We read in the holy writings, how God speaks to men, by appearance of angels, or by dreams and visions of the night. As God appeared to Abraham, Lot, and Jacob; so angels have appeared to many in other cases, as to Manoah and his wife, Zechariah, the Virgin Mary, and to the apostles; others have been warned in a dream, as king Abimelech, the false prophet Balaam, and many others.

It is certainly a very great and noble enquiry, What we shall be after this life? for there is scarce a doubt, that there is a place reserved for the reception of our souls after death: for if we are to be, we must have a where, which the scriptures assert by the examples of Dives and Lazarus. The doctrine of spirits was long believed before our Saviour's time; for when the disciples of the blessed Jesus perceived our Saviour walking on the sea, they were much surpris'd as tho' they had seen a spirit. Nay, in those ages of the world, it was believed that spirits intermeddled in the affairs of mankind; and, throughout the Old Testament, I do not find any thing that in the least contradicts it. All the pains and labour that some learned men have taken, to confute the story of the witch of Endor, and the appearance of an old man personating Samuel, cannot make such apparitions inconsistent with nature or religion: and it is plain, that it was either a good

or bad spirit, that prophetically told the unfortunate king what should happen the next day; for, said the spirit, *The Lord will deliver thee into the hands of the Philistines; and to morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me.*

Abundance of strange notions possessed me, when I was in the desolate island; especially on a moonshine night, when every bush seemed a man, and every tree a man on horseback. When I crept into the dismal cave, where the old goat lay expiring, whose articulate groans even resembled those of a man, how was I surpris'd! my blood chilled in my veins, a cold sweaty dew sat on my forehead, my hair stood upright, and my joints, like Balthazar's knees, struck against one another. And, indeed, though I afterwards found what it was, the remains of this surprise did not wear off for a great while; and I had frequently returns of those vapours on different occasions, and sometimes without any occasion at all.

One night, after having seen some appearance in the air, as I had just lain down in my bed, one of my feet pained me; after that came a numbness, succeeded with a tingling in my blood; when on a sudden I thought something alive lay upon me, from my knee to above half my leg. Upon this I flung myself out of bed where I thought the creature lay: but finding nothing, *Lord deliver me from an evil spirit*, said I, *what can this be?* When I lighted a candle, I could perceive no living creature in the place with me, but the poor parrot, who being frighted, cried out, *Hold your tongue*, and, *What's the matter with you?* which words I had taught him, by saying so to him, when he

made such screaming noises as I did not like. *Lord*, said I aloud, *surely the devil has been here. Hold your tongue*, says Poll. I was then mad at the bird, and putting on my clothes, cried, I am terribly frightened. *What's the matter with you?* says Poll. You toad, said I, I'll knock your brains out. *Hold your tongue*, cried he again, and so fell a chattering, and calling Robinson Crusoe, as he did before. But, after I had composed myself, and went to bed again, I began plainly to see it was a distemper that affected my nerves, and so my terrors vanished at once.

How intelligences are given or received, we do not know; nor are we sensible how they are conveyed from spirits embodied, to ours that are in life; or on the contrary, from us to them: the latter certainly is done without the help of the organs, and the former is conveyed by the understanding, and the retired faculties of the soul.

The spirits, without the help of voices, converse, and the more particular discoveries of the converse of spirits, seem to me as follow; to wit, dreams, voices, noises, impulses, hints, apprehensions, involuntary sadnesses, &c.

Dreams of old were the ways by which God himself was pleased to warn men what services to perform, and what to shun. Joseph was directed of God in a dream to go to Egypt; and so were the wise men warned in a dream to depart into their own country another way, to avoid the fury of Herod. I am not like those who think dreams are the mere dosings of a delirious head, or the reliefs of a day's perplexities or

pleasures; but, on the contrary, I must beg leave to say, I never met with any capital mischief in my life, but I had some notice of it by a dream; and, had I not been a thoughtless unbelieving creature, I might have taken many a warning, and avoided many of the evils I afterwards fell into, merely by total neglect of those dreams.

I was once present at a dispute between a layman and a clergyman, upon the subject of dreams. The first thought no regard should be given unto them: that their communication from the invisible to the visible world was a mere chimera; without any solid foundation. For, 1. said he, if dreams were from the agency of any prescient being, the motives would be more direct, and the discoveries more plain; and not by allegories and emblematic fancies, expressing things imperfect and obscure. 2. Since, with the notice of evil, there was not a power given to avoid it, it is not likely to proceed from a spirit, but merely fortuitous. 3. That the inconstancy of such notices, in cases equally important, proves they did not proceed from any such agent. 4. That as our most distinct dreams had nothing in them of any significance, it would be irrational and vain to think that they came from heaven. And, 5. That as men were not always thus warned or supplied with notice of good or evil, so all men are not alike supplied with them; and what reason could we give, why one man or one woman should not have the same hints as another.

To all this the clergyman gave answer; 1. That, as

to the signification of dreams, and the objections against them as being dark and doubtful, they are expressed generally by hieroglyphical representations, similes, allusions, and figurative emblematic ways, by which means, for want of interpretation, the thing was not understood, and, consequently, the evil not shunned. 3. That we charge God foolishly, to say, that he has given the notice of evil, without the power to avoid it; for, if any one had not power to avoid the evil, it was no notice to him; and it was want of giving due heed to that notice, that men first neglected themselves, and then charged the Judge of all the earth with injustice. 3. That we ought not to find fault with the inconstancy of these notices; but rather with our weak understandings, by pretending dreams were not to be regarded, and negligent when the voice really spoke to us for our good. It is a mistake to say, dreams have no import at all: we might, with more reason, have said, none that we could perceive the reason of, owing to our blindness and supine negligence, too secure at one time, and too much alarmed at another; so that the spirit, which we might be said to be conversing with in a dream, was constantly and equally kind and careful; but our powers are not always in the same state of action, not equally attentive to, or retentive of the hints that were given. And, 5. to answer the last question, Why people are not equally supplied? This seemed to be no question; for Providence itself might have some share in the direction of it, and then that providence might be limited by a superior direction: that as to the

converse of spirits, he could not call it a stated converse; such a thing there was, but why there was so much of it, and no more, was none of his business, and that no such discovery had ever yet been made to mankind. Nor were we to imagine less of waking dreams, trances, visions, noises, hints, impulses, and all the waking testimonies of an invisible world, and of the communication that there is between us and them, which commonly entertain us with our eyes open.

One time my fancy soared on high, to see what discoveries I could make in those clearer regions. I found that such immense bodies as the sun, stars, planets, and moon, in the great circle of the lower heaven, are far from being found in the study of nature on the surface of the earth. Here I saw many things that we can entertain little or no notion of, in a state of common life, and the emptiness of our notion, that the planets are habitable worlds; that is, created like ours, for the subsistence and existence of man and beast and the preservation of the vegetative and sensitive life: No, no, this is, I assure you, a world of spirits; for here I saw a clear demonstration of Satan being the *prince of the power of the air*, keeping his court or camp, with innumerable angels to attend him; but his power is not so great as we imagine, he can tempt us to the crime, but cannot force us to commit it: *Humanum est peccare*. Neither has the devil power to force the world into a rebellion against heaven, though his legions are employed among savage nations, to set up their master for a god, who make

the heathens either worship him in person, or by his representatives, idols and monsters, with the cruel sacrifices of human blood. Now, as to the limitations of the devil's power, you must understand, that, as there are numbers of evil spirits employed in mischief so there are numbers of good angels sent from the higher and blessed abodes to disconcert and oppose their measures; and this every Christian, I hope, believes, when he prays to God, the father of spirits, to give his angels charge over him while he slumbereth and sleepeth. For if by these preventing powers the devil was not restrained, the earth would be subjected to dearth, drougths, and famine; the air infected with noxious fumes; and, in a word, mankind would be utterly destroyed, which might oblige our maker (if I may be allowed the expression) to the necessity of a new *fiat*, or else have no more creatures to honour and worship him.

As the devil never wanted insinulators, I shall observe, that I learned a way how to make a man dream of what I pleased. For instance, let us suppose one to be found asleep; let another lay his mouth close to his ear, and whisper any thing so softly as not to awake him, the sleeping man shall dream of what has been so whispered in his ear; nay, I can assure you, those insinuating devils can do this even when we are awake, which I call impulses of the mind: for from whence, but from these insinulators, come our causeless passions, involuntary wickedness, or sinful desires? Who else form ideas in the mind of man when he is asleep, or present terrible or beautiful fi-

gures to his fancy? Mr Milton represents the devil tempting Eve in the shape of a toad, lying just at her ear, when in her bower she lay fast asleep; and brings in Eve telling Adam what an uneasy night's rest she had, and relating her dream to him. And likewise I believe that good spirits have the same intercourse with us, in warning us against those things that are evil, and prompting us to that which is good.

Were we to have the eyes of our souls opened, through the eyes of our bodies, we should see this very immediate region of air which we breath in, thronged with spirits now invisible, and which otherwise would be the most terrible: we should view the secret transactions of those messengers who are employed when the parting soul takes its leave of the reluctant body, and perhaps see things nature would shrink back from with the utmost terror and amazement. In a word, the curtain of providence for the dispositions of things here, and the curtain of judgment for the determination of the state of souls hereafter, would be alike drawn back; and what heart could support here its future state in life, much less that of its future state after life, even good or bad.

A gentleman of my acquaintance, being about seven miles distant from London, a friend that came to dine with him, solicited him to go to the city. What, said the gentleman, is there any occasion for me? No, Sir, said the other, nothing at all, except the enjoyment of your good company; and so gave over importuning him. Just then a strong impulse of mind urged the gentleman, and pursued him like a voice,
with,

with, *Go to London, Go to London*. Hark ye, says he to his friend, is all well at London? Am I wanted there? Or, did you ask me to go with you on any particular account? Are all my family well? Yes, indeed, Sir, said he, I perceived them all very hearty; and I did not ask you to go to London upon any particular account whatsoever, except it was for the sake of your good company. Again he put off his resolution: but still the impulse suggested to him, *Go to London*; and at length he did so. When he came there, he found a letter and messenger had been there to seek him, and to tell him of a particular business, which was first and last above a thousand pounds to him, and which might inevitably been lost, had he not gone to London that night.

The obeying of several hints, or secret impulses argues great wisdom. I knew a man that was under misfortunes, being guilty of misdemeanors against the government; when, absconding for fear of his ruin, all his friends advising him not to put himself in the hands of the law, one morning as he awaked, he felt a strong impulse darting into his mind thus, *Write a letter to them*: and this was repeated several times to his mind, and at last he answered to it, as if it had been a voice, *Whom shall I write to?* Immediately it replied, *Write to the judge*; and this impulse pursued him for several days, till at length he took pen, and ink, and paper, and sat down to write to him; when immediately words flowed from his pen, like streams from a fair fountain, that charmed even himself with hopes of success. In short, the letter was

so strenuous in argument, so pathetic in its eloquence, and so persuasively moving, that when the judge had read it, he sent him an answer he might be easy, he would endeavour to make that matter light to him; and, indeed, never left exerting himself, till he had stopt the prosecution, and restored him to his liberty and family.

I know a person who had so strong an impression upon her mind, that the house she was in would be burnt that very night, that she could not sleep; the impulse she had upon her mind pressed her not to go to bed, which, however, she got over, and went to bed; but was so terrified with the thought which run in her mind, that the house would be burnt, that she could not go to sleep; but communicating her apprehensions to another in the family, they were both in such a fright, that they applied themselves to search from the top of the house to the bottom, and to see every fire and candle safe out, so that, as they all said, it was impossible any thing could happen in the house, and they sent to the neighbours on both sides to do the like. Thus far they did well: but had she obeyed the hint which pressed upon her strangely not to go to bed, she had done much better; for the fire was actually kindled at that very time, though not broken out. About an hour after the whole family was in bed, the house just over the way, directly opposite, was all in flames, and the wind, which was very high, blowing the flame upon the house this gentlewoman lived in, so filled it with smোক and fire, in a few moments, the street being narrow, that they had not air

to breathe, or time to do any thing, but jump out of their beds, and save their lives. Had she obeyed the hint given, and not gone to bed, she might have saved several things; but the few moments she had spared to her, were but just sufficient to leap out of bed, put some clothes on, and get down stairs, for the house was on fire in half a quarter of an hour.

While I am mentioning these things, methinks it is very hard, that we should obey the whispers of evil spirits, and not much rather receive the notices which good ones are pleased to give. We never perceive the misfortune of this, but when in real danger: and then we cry *My mind misgave me when I was going about it*: but if so, why do you flight the caution? Why not listen to it *as to a voice*? and then there had been no reason to make this complaint.

I remember about 14 or 15 years ago (as to time I cannot be very positive) there was a young clergyman in the city of Dublin in Ireland, who dreamed a very uncommon dream, That a gentleman had killed his wife, a relation of his, by stabbing her in several places; the fright of this awaked him, but finding it a dream, he composed himself again to sleep, when he dreamed a second time the same dream. This made him a little uneasy; but thinking it proceeded from the impression made on his mind by the former, he went to sleep again, and dreamed the same dream a third time also. So troubled was he at this, that he arose, and knocked at his mother's chamber, told his concern, and his apprehensions that all were not right at his relation's house. Dear son, says the good old

gentlewoman, do not mind these foolish dreams: and I very much wonder, that you, being a person in holy orders, should have regard to such illusions. Upon this he went to bed again, fell asleep, and dreamed a fourth time as before. And then indeed he put on his night-gown, and went to Smithfield, the place where his relation dwelt. Here it was, alas ! he perceived his dream too sadly fulfilled, by seeing his relation, the young lady, big with child, who was a Protestant, stabbed in seven places, by her barbarous husband Mr Eustace, a violent Papist, only for some discourses of religion that happened the day before. After the wretch had stabbed her in three places, he went to make his escape out at a window; but she cried out, *My dear ! don't leave me, come back, and I shall be well again.* At which he returned in a hellish rage, and gave her four wounds more; when, even in this condition, rising from her bed, she wrapped herself in her night-gown, and went to the Lord Bishop of Rapho's chamber-door (the bishop lodging at that time in the house), *My Lord*, said she, *O, My Lord, make haste unto me ;* but as soon as his Lordship came she expired in his arms, resigning her precious soul into the hands of Almighty God. The cruel wretch her husband was shot by the pursuers, too good a death for one who deserved the gibbet ; and the lady was universally lamented by all tender and religious people. And this tragical relation I have mentioned, upon the account of that impulse, or dream, that the clergyman had at the fatal time of the bloody action.

It might be expected I should enter upon the subject of apparitions, and discourse concerning the reality of them; and whether they can revisit the place of their former existence, and resume those faculties of speech and shape as they had when living; but, as these are very doubtful matters, I shall only make a few observations upon them.

I once heard of a man that would allow the reality of apparitions, but laid it all upon the devil, thinking that the souls of men departed, or good men, did never appear. To this very man something did appear: he said, he saw the shape of an ancient man pass by him in the dusk, who, holding up his hand in a threatening posture, cried out, *O, wicked man, repent, repent!* Terrified with this apparition, he consulted several friends, who advised him to take the advice. But, after all, it was not an apparition, but a grave and pious gentleman, who met him by mere accident, and had been sensible of his wickedness, and who never undeceived him, lest it should hinder his reformation. Were we always willing to make good use of Satan's real appearances, I know not but it would go a great way to banish him from the visible world; for I am very positive, he would seldom visit us, if he thought his coming would do us any good: but so absolutely is he at the command of heaven, that he must go, even to do the work he abhors.

Some people make a very ill use of the general notion, that there are no apparitions nor spirits at all: which is worse than those who fancy they see them

upon every occasion: for those carry their notions farther, even to annihilate the devil, and believe nothing about him, neither of one kind or other: the next step they come to, is to conclude, *There is no God*, and so atheism takes its rise in the same sink, with a carelessness about futurity. But there is no occasion to enter upon an argument to prove the being of the Almighty, or to illustrate his power by words, who has so many undeniable testimonies in the breasts of every rational being, to prove his existence: and we have sufficient proofs, enough to convince us of the great superintendency of divine providence in the minutest affairs of this world; the manifest existence of the invisible world; the reality of spirits, and intelligence between us and them. What I have said, I hope, will not mislead any person, or be a means whereby they may delude themselves; for I have spoken of these things with the utmost seriousness of mind, and with a sincere and ardent desire for the general good and benefit of the world.

F I N I S.



E R R A T A.

PAG. 25, lin. 4, *yon*, *read* *you*. --- P. 34, l. 29, *thee*, *r.* *three*. --- P. 46, l. 1, *fowl*, *r.* *fowls*. --- P. 47, l. 11, *lie* *lie* *dry*, *r.* *lie dry*. --- P. 57, l. 7, *fathers*, *r.* *father's*. --- P. 59, l. 19, *chewed*, *r.* *chewed it*. --- P. 84, l. 27, *live*, *r.* *lived*. --- P. 91, l. 16, *be*, *r.* *he*. --- P. 108, l. 31, *then*, *r.* *than*. --- P. 112, l. 3, *is*, *r.* *his*. --- P. 124, l. 4, *they*, *r.* *the*. --- P. 174, l. 20, *priest*, *r.* *priests*. --- P. 195, l. 18, *connot*, *r.* *cannot*. --- P. 216, l. 6, *hear*, *r.* *heard*. --- P. 236, l. 25, *pervént*, *r.* *prevent*. --- P. 298, l. 6, *divided*, *r.* *was divided*. --- P. 303, l. 17, *is is*, *r.* *it is*. --- P. 312, l. 13, *kave*, *r.* *have*. --- P. 315, l. 27, *be*, *r.* *he*. --- P. 345, l. 6, *b*, *r.* *be*. --- *Ibid.* l. 29, *Samatra*, *r.* *Sumatra*. --- P. 354, l. 31, *scalled*, *r.* *scalded*. --- P. 361, l. 17, *Gencofe*, *r.* *Genoese*. --- P. 362, l. 28, *if pleased*, *r.* *if I pleased*. --- P. 381, l. 16, *is*, *r.* *his*. --- P. 387, l. 12, *forteiture*: *r.* *forfeiture*. --- P. 389, l. 5, *immortality*, *r.* *immorality*. --- P. 391, l. 31, *contracting*, *r.* *contradicting*. --- P. 395, l. 13, *nations*, *r.* *notions*. --- P. 402, l. 16, *Balshazzar's*, *r.* *Balthazzar's*.

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